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THE WAR OF QUITO

SECOND SERIES

No. XXXI

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THE WAR OF QUITO

BY

PEDRO DE CIEZA DE LEON

AND

INCA DOCUMENTS

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

BY

SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B.

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

CIEZA DE LEON, besides his two chronicles (translations of which already form part of the first series of the Hakluyt Society's volumes), completed a history of the conquest and civil wars of Peru. The manuscripts have not all been found, but Jimenes de la Espada edited and published the first part of the "War of Quito" by Cieza de Leon in 1880. It is valuable because Cieza was the most trustworthy of all the old writers on Peru, and because he was on the spot and acquainted with many of the actors in the scenes he describes. Cieza is always fair and impartial.

The interest attaching to this recovered work of Cieza is that it records the attempt of the Spanish Government, at the instance of Las Casas, to befriend the Indians by enforcing laws for their protection. It will be seen that the martinet who was sent as Viceroy to carry out the policy of the Government was a hopelessly impossible person. The hopes of the Inca Manco were raised on receiving the news of the Viceroy's arrival with the New Laws, and he died in the full anticipation that there was a dawn of better things for his people.

The narrative of Cieza is well told and full of interest. But it comes to an end just before the Viceroy's murder of the Factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal, which was the immediate cause of his overthrow. To the narrative of Cieza is, therefore, added in the present volume a letter from the Bishop of Cuzco to Charles V which describes the murder and subsequent events. The letter is followed by the Indictment of the Judges against the Viceroy, also giving their version of the murder and of the events which followed.

To complete the story a Sequel has been written by the editor, narrating the events from the assumption of the government by Gonzalo Pizarro to his complete victory and the death of the Viceroy at Añaquito. From that date, for too short a time, Gonzalo Pizarro was Governor of Peru, and in possession of the only approach by Panama, with none to oppose him.

His Camp Master was Francisco de Carbajal, a veteran of the Italian wars, now verging on his eightieth year, and very corpulent. His life story, up to this time, will be found in the narrative of Cieza, in the Sequel, and in notes. Carbajal is accused of great cruelty. It is true that he showed no mercy to traitors and deserters, from policy not from innate cruelty. The treachery of nearly every one in Peru is perfectly astounding, as will be seen in Cieza's narrative; and strong measures were absolutely inevitable. But he was kind and indulgent to his own men, and he had a wife who was attached to him, a Portuguese lady named Leyton, of good family. Carbajal was a soldier with forty

years of experience in the wars of Italy and by far the ablest military man in Peru. He was well educated, extraordinarily sagacious and far-seeing, very witty and humorous, and possessed of almost incredible physical endurance.

The wise old man saw that there could be no forgiveness for Gonzalo Pizarro, and that it was quite futile to send envoys to Spain to explain what had happened and to apply for the governorship for Gonzalo. He, therefore, urged Gonzalo Pizarro to assume the kingship, to create nobles, to grant *encomiendas* in perpetuity, to marry an Inca princess, and to enact judicious laws for the efficient protection of the Indians. By these measures he would secure the support of all the Spaniards and all the native population—there would be such unanimity that attacks from without would be repulsed. The only safety was in a bold front. The words of wisdom were only listened to with favour, but not adopted.

The Sequel is followed by an interesting letter from Carbajal to Pizarro in which he refers to the kingship.

Pizarro hesitated and was lost. There was the basest treachery. Hinojosa and Aldana delivered up Panama and the fleet to the cleric Pedro de la Gasca, who had been sent out with full powers.

A translation of a curious document in the King's library at Madrid follows, giving an account of the storm encountered by Gasca on his voyage to Peru.

Next there is a translation of Appendix No. 18 in Espada's edition of Cieza de Leon's "Guerra de

Quito." It is only a fragment, but it contains the account of the murder of the Inca Manco, given by his son Titu Cusi Yupanqui, who was an eye-witness.

The last document is the exceedingly interesting Report by Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa of his mission to Titu Cusi Yupanqui Inca, between 1565 and 1568.

THE WAR OF QUITO[1]

BY

PEDRO DE CIEZA DE LEON

CHAPTER I

How the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela sailed from San Lucar, and what happened until his arrival at the city of Panama, which is in the kingdom of Tierra Firme.

THE Viceroy Blasco Nuñez had been ordered to fit out ships to sail from Spain, and to continue his journey to the kingdoms of Peru. When everything was ready, he sailed from that port, with the knights who were to accompany him, on Saturday the 3rd day of the month of November in the year of our redemption 1543[2]. Navigating swiftly over the great ocean sea, he sailed on until he arrived at Gran Canaria. Here he took in fresh provisions and was joined by the Licentiate Cepeda, who was going out as a Judge. Leaving that island, the voyage

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[1] Forming Book III of the Civil Wars of Peru.

[2] The official register of the *Casa de Contratacion* at Seville, shows that the fleet of Blasco Nuñez consisted of 49 ships. The Viceroy took 50 servants. The total number of passengers was 915, among them 36 married men with their wives, and 87 single girls with their parents. The chief passengers were Agustin de Zarate, Accountant, the Licentiate Zarate with his wife, Rodrigo de Contreras and his son, Judge Lison de Tejada, the Licentiate Alvarez, and the Viceroy's brother Francisco Velasquez de Vela Nuñez.

was continued until the ships arrived at Nombre de Dios three days after Epiphany in 1544. Here he remained for 15 or 16 days, at the end of which time he proceeded to the city of Panama with those who had accompanied him.

I deeply lament that a knight so accomplished as was the Viceroy should have fallen into the hands of such wicked and perverse men. For his want of judgment and lack of prudence in public affairs did not merit a death so cruel as he met with at Añaquito near the equator. The things that must happen cannot be prevented, and all is in the will of the most high God.

The Viceroy arrived at the city of Panama without waiting for the Judges who, for some reason, did not leave Nombre de Dios with him, but remained there. The Viceroy found the Licentiate Pedro Ramirez de Quiñones, now Judge of the Confines, in Panama. He was taking the *residencia* of Dr Villalobos and the Licentiate Paez, who had been Judges of the Court established in that kingdom. Presently the Viceroy took the royal seal, and placed it in a box with the veneration which was its due, with several chapters of the Ordinances[1],

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[1] *The new laws.*

The new laws, advocated by Las Casas, but opposed by several experienced statesmen, some of them with much knowledge of the Indies, were signed by Charles V at Barcelona on November 20th, 1542.

The first Ordinance was that after the deaths of those who possessed grants of Indians, their wives or children were not to succeed to them*, but that the Indians were to become vassals of the King, the children of the former owners receiving certain fruits of the labour of such Indians for their sustenance.

No Indian is to be made to carry loads without being paid, nor to be forced to work in mines or pearl fisheries, nor to be obliged to render personal service.

Bishops, Monasteries, and Hospitals to be deprived of Indians granted to them formerly, as well as all officials.

All who fought in the war between Pizarro and Almagro, on both sides, to be deprived of all grants of Indians. This would include all the settlers in Peru.

* The original grants were for two lives.

intending to carry out the orders literally. They required that all the men and women of Peru should be sent to their native homes at the cost of those who possessed them, it being the will of the King that they should be free, as his subjects and vassals[1]. Notwithstanding that the order was just and righteous, some of the Indians evaded it because they were married, others because they liked their masters and were tolerably instructed in the matters of our Holy Catholic Faith. Even of those who were ordered to depart many merely went to hide in secret places so as not to go whither they were sent, and others went to the churches, whence they were taken by order of the Viceroy, and put on board ships, where many died. So that very few returned to their native places, and those that did went back to the rites and idolatries they had formerly been accustomed to. There was thus no benefit derived from compliance with this ordinance. Some Spanish conquerors, who returned to Spain, had lived with Indian women for many years, and had children by them. These were to be sent to the native places of the mothers at the cost of their masters. If they disputed or complained they had to pay double for freight and passage. Some had small children and prayed that they might not be sent to die owing to having no mothers. These were ordered to pay a still larger sum.

The authorities, appointed to enforce the new laws in Peru, were the Viceroy and four Judges of the Royal Court of Justice[2].

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[1] It appears that over 300 Indians had been brought from Peru to Panama by their owners. The Viceroy ordered them to be released and sent back.

[2] Blasco Nuñez Vela, native of Avila, then General Overseer of the Guards of Castille, Viceroy and President of the Court of

When the Judges arrived at Panama there were some entertainments, and it was reported that the Viceroy and the Judges were not on very good terms, and that, in secret, neither he treated them well, nor they him. Considering the severity of the new laws, and the difficulty of enforcing them in Peru, owing to the resistance of those in that kingdom, the Judges suggested to the Viceroy that an intention to enforce them should not be shown until they were in possession of Peru. When the Court was established there, it would be easier to enforce the orders of his Majesty. The Viceroy had received news of what was passing in Peru, of the great number of people in that kingdom, of the proceedings of the Governor Vaca de Castro, and that there were many charges for artillery and arquebuses and much gunpowder in the cities of Lima and Cuzco. He was strongly advised to enter Peru quietly and with consideration, for if he came in another way there would be a rebellion against him. For besides the arms and people actually in the country, more came every day, and are now coming. But the Viceroy, unmoved by these reports, replied that his single cloak and sword would suffice for all Peru. Many, hearing these boastings, foresaw what

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Justice, selected because he would enforce the royal orders with rigour.

1 Licentiate Diego de Cepeda, native of Tordesillas, then a Judge in Gran Canaria—Judge.

2 Licentiate Lison de Tejada, a native of Logroño—Judge.

3 Licentiate Alvarez—Judge.

4 Licentiate Pedro Ortiz de Zarate, a native of Orduña, who was then chief magistrate in Segovia—Judge.

Agustin de Zarate, then Secretary of the Royal Council, was appointed Accountant. He had been for 15 years Comptroller of accounts for Castille. He took as little part as possible in the troubles, confining his energies to his own department. On his return the Emperor made him Superintendent of finances in Flanders. He collected materials for a book which he wrote when he had leisure in Spain. It was published at Antwerp in 1555, Seville 1577, and by Barcia. He writes as an eye-witness of the events which led to the expulsion of the Viceroy, but as a prejudiced partizan against Gonzalo Pizarro.

they must be prepared for. As the ordinances were so severe against men who had lived so freely as those in Peru, and so heavy for them, it was evident that they would take up arms, for it was their custom to contend in war for very slight causes.

CHAPTER II

Of what other things happened at Panama, and what the Governor Rodrigo de Contreras and the Judges said to the Viceroy respecting the ordinances.

THERE was no less commotion in Tierra Firme than in Peru on hearing that the Viceroy intended to enforce the ordinances and to hold the kingdom under a rule of such right and justice that no one should live in licentiousness, as had hitherto been the case. Rodrigo de Contreras, who had been Governor of Nicaragua, was at that time in Panama. He saw that the Viceroy would not keep in his own bosom a single part of what he had been ordered to do: but on the contrary declared publicly, so that all might hear, affirming it with an oath, that he will not have landed at Tumbez before the Indians had been informed that they were vassals of the Emperor our Lord, and that the *Encomenderos* had no authority over them except for the collection of tribute which the Indians were bound to pay: also that the ordinances would be enforced as the King had ordered.

Contreras went to the Viceroy's lodging, and said: "I cannot believe that your Lordship is ignorant of the alarm caused by your arrival with these new laws, among the Spaniards in this empire of the Indies, from the islands to this part. Even if your ears are deaf to this, as the tumult has not yet ended, you must have heard

the clamour that is made over it. Neither I nor those here complain that his Majesty has sent the new laws for, like so very Christian a prince, he desires that affairs here should be ordered with rectitude and moderation. For we hold for certain that his ministers who come to execute laws, zealous for his service, will see that the state of affairs renders it advisable not to enforce them. I regret, therefore, that your Lordship has publicly declared that you will not have landed in New Castille before the new laws are published and enforced. The ordinances which I brought out, not only did I not publish, but I was in the province a year and more and had not promulgated them. Later, when it is clear that the provinces are quieted and that there is no trouble, I shall decide what should be done. For if the ordinances were hastily enforced it might cause great evils. In this country the Spaniards are not of low degree, but all consider themselves great lords of noble parentage, and would be ready to die rather than submit to the new laws, nor would dissensions and wars be wanting, the discontent being so great."

When Contreras said this, the Viceroy replied: "If on all sides the evil is preferred to the good, and tyranny comes before loyalty, and if the King has no more part in these realms than those who are here like to give him, I can believe that what you say is correct. But if you say that his Majesty's intention is not altered, how is it that they do not wish to comply with the royal order? You know very well the poverty under which our fathers came to discover this empire. It is not so many years since Columbus sailed from Spain, and avarice has grown rapidly among those who have settled here. To gain riches they have done many evil things, almost totally ruining the provinces. If these laws had not been enacted, in ten years there would be nothing

left but ruins, and the rivers and mountains. Let no one think that ministers of the King will be guided by the appetites of those here, nor be surprised if I behead them as traitors." Saying this the Viceroy retired into his chamber: and the Governor Rodrigo de Contreras departed.

Soon afterwards the Licentiate Zarate, regretting that the Viceroy should have said that he would soon enforce the new laws, and not wishing to speak of a thing which was so hateful to all, entered where the Viceroy was. He then said that, hearing what was talked about concerning the new laws, and understanding that they were to be enforced, he thought it would be proper not to allude to the subject; rather keep it at the bottom of a box until the land of Peru was reached, and it was ascertained whether the laws could be conveniently promulgated. To this, and to what the Judges Cepeda, Alvarez and Tejada said, the Viceroy replied that he would do what he thought proper. As to what the accountant Juan de Caceres affirmed, that, from the news he had received from people in Peru, he gathered that if the ordinances were at once enforced, the people would take up arms rather than obey, the Viceroy told him harshly that if he was not a servant of the King he would order him to be hanged.

These and some other things having happened, the Viceroy hurried his preparations to go on to Peru, while the Judges continued to talk about the ordinances, advising that before they were promulgated, time should be given for the court of justice to be formed, so that then the orders of his Majesty might be carried out, after mature deliberation. But the Viceroy thought little of their advice; replying that his duty was to obey his orders, and for doing so he alone sufficed. So the want of confidence between him and the Judges was increased.

CHAPTER III

How Francisco de Carbajal arrived at the city of the Kings with a great desire to return to Spain, and how the Viceroy embarked at Panama for Peru.

FRANCISCO DE CARBAJAL, desiring to leave the kingdom, had obtained the consent of the Governor Vaca de Castro and of the municipality of Cuzco, and, with the help they gave him, he set out from that city with all the money he could collect, wishing to return to Spain and obtain some rest. Antonio de Altamirano and Lope de Mendoza and many others would have lost nothing by his departure[1]. But it was already decreed by God, for our very great sins, that this man should become a cruel scourge, as the narrative will presently give you to understand. Leaving the city of Cuzco, Carbajal travelled until he reached the city of the Kings, and dismounted at the house of the Treasurer Antonio Riquelme. The Treasurer feared that he had come to kill him by order of Vaca de Castro, by reason of the enmity between them; so next day, by all the cunning ways he could think of, he sought how to get rid of such a guest. But Francisco Carbajal was very tiresome and, seeing what the Treasurer wanted, he continued to lodge in his house. At the end of some days after his arrival at the city of the Kings, he gave the letters he brought from Vaca de Castro to the members of the municipality, touching his voyage to Spain. The letters represented the advantages the kingdom would derive from his departure, because his Majesty, through him, would be well

[1] People he afterwards put to death.

informed of the affairs of Peru, and of the injury that would be done to the conquerors, if the new laws were enforced in their entirety. Vaca de Castro wrote in the same way, and requested that Carbajal should be empowered to negotiate in Spain, in the interests of Peru. The members of the municipality, having read the letter of Vaca de Castro, and heard what Francis Carbajal had to say, gave an evasive answer. As the Governor, by his letter, announced that he would shortly arrive at the city of the Kings, they told Carbajal that he should wait until Vaca de Castro came, as he would give orders as Governor for the King. They gave this answer at an official meeting in the municipal building. Carbajal thought that he was looked upon by them as an unimportant person to whom they could give a frivolous answer. He came out of the building with a feeling of having been insulted; while those within were laughing, and making a joke of it. For they thought that when Vaca de Castro did come to the city of the Kings the country would already be under the new Viceroy, who would not molest them for not having cared to send Carbajal to Spain[1].

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[1] Francisco de Carbajal was born in 1468 at a village called Ragana near Arevalo, in the diocese of Avila. His quotations and frequent references to ancient history show that he received a fairly good education. But he must have been young when he entered upon a military life. He served under the great Captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova, Colonna, Leyva, and other well-known warriors of the Italian wars. He was at the battle of Ravenna in 1512, when he was aged 44, and must already have seen much service. He fought at the battle of Pavia in 1525, and at the sack of Rome in 1527. At Rome he took for his share of the booty all the papers in a lawyer's office. The ransom for them enabled him to go to Mexico with his wife Catalina Leyton, of a noble Portuguese family. In 1536, when he was 68, he first went to Peru. He was sent by the Viceroy of Mexico, Don Antonio de Mendoza, to assist Pizarro, at the time when he was besieged by the Indians in Lima. Pizarro sent him to settle in Charcas. Arriving at Arequipa on his way he knew no one, and was standing at the corner of a street with his wife and family, not knowing what to do. Miguel Cornejo, a citizen, saw them, heard their

At this time the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela was very anxious to leave Tierra Firme and, embarking on the South Sea, to navigate in haste to the coast of Peru. He desired to establish the court of justice in the city of the Kings with as little delay as possible, considering that it would be easy to enforce the ordinances. He was very angry, and was with difficulty induced to listen, if any one expressed a different opinion.

Leaving the Judges at Panama, and taking with him the royal seal, he embarked at the city of Panama on the 10th of February of the same year, and arrived at the port of Tumbez in nine days. This was the quickest voyage that had ever been made. From Tumbez he wrote his letters to the city of San Francisco del Quito, to Puerto Viejo, and to Guayaquil, to announce his arrival in the kingdom and the duty with which he was charged by order of the Emperor our Lord. He added that his

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story, and took them to his house, treating them hospitably. At the battle of Huarina, ten years afterwards, Cornejo was taken prisoner, fighting against Carbajal, and expected to be put to death. Carbajal said to him—"I am not unmindful of what you did for me at Arequipa, with my wife and family, not knowing where to go. I give you liberty, and for your sake exempt your companions from all punishment. Go home and look to your safety with all quiet and content." After the murder of the Marquis Pizarro, Carbajal joined Vaca de Castro and was appointed "Sargento-Mayor." At the battle of Chupas he marshalled the royal army, and showed both military skill and extraordinary personal valour. The old veteran was very corpulent, and when a shot from young Almagro's cannon mowed a space in the advancing troops of Vaca de Castro, Carbajal threw himself into the gap, telling the men that his size made him a bigger target than any one else. Then he took off his morion and breastplate, throwing them on the ground to be like the meanest soldier, so arousing the admiration of the troops that they carried all before them. The victory of Chupas was due to him.

The rumours respecting the New Laws convinced Carbajal that there was trouble ahead. He was long past 70, and was anxious to end his days at home and in peace. He got permission from Vaca de Castro to return to Spain, and went to Lima to obtain a passage home. General Mendiburu (*Diccionario Historico-Biografico del Peru*) thought, from Carbajal having lodged in the house of the Treasurer Riquelme on that occasion, that they were great friends. But Cieza de Leon implies that he was rather an unwelcome guest.

desire was to do good to all, and to administer justice; that for this he had come, and that when he arrived at the city of the Kings he would establish a royal court of justice and chancellory where those would receive justice who sought for it. He concluded with the announcement that, although he sent to tell them this, he also came with certain ordinances for the new government and respecting the treatment of the Indians which might appear heavy and causes for anger. Hitherto justice had been administered as between friends. They murmured at the announcement of the Viceroy, and when the news of his arrival reached them, they were not a little annoyed, so that the Viceroy's name was abhorred by most, while all, from fear of the new rules, thought of no other thing than to extort as much gold as possible from the Indians and their chiefs.

CHAPTER IV

How the Governor Vaca de Castro wrote from the city of Cuzco to the Captain Gonzalo Pizarro, and touching his departure from Cuzco.

THE tumults and disturbances, caused by the news of the ordinances in Cuzco, were continued. It is even said that Hernando Bachicao, Juan Velez de Guevara, Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo, Cermeño and others spoke to Vaca de Castro saying that he was the Royal Governor, that he should continue in his command, and that all would serve and obey him.

Vaca de Castro answered in a way which showed that he understood how changeable were the wills of men in

Peru, and how inconstant. To gain their ends they are ready to put any one at the head, leaving him in the lurch if he failed. In this Vaca de Castro was not deceived. For those who move in seditions and in wars coloured by justifications, although they were accomplices in the demands of their leader, when the time of failure comes, they sally forth, swearing with great oaths that they were forced to join the tyrant.

Understanding this Vaca de Castro answered that he had taken charge of the province by order of the King, and that he would now do no other thing than proceed to the city of the Kings to wait upon him whom the King had appointed as his Viceroy. Saying this, he ordered the Secretary, Pero Lopez[1], to prepare the letters and despatches, as he desired to set out from Cuzco without delay.

Some wish to say, and even men who were present have assured me, that the Governor Vaca de Castro wrote to Gonzalo Pizarro to come with all speed and take up the appointment of Procurator and Defender of the kingdom while he, Vaca de Castro, after marrying one of Pizarro's daughters, would go to Spain and negotiate for his appointment to the government of New Toledo, and other things, and urging him to proceed in the matter.

I, being in the city of the Kings, was told by Don Antonio de Ribera that among the letters which Gonzalo Pizarro had there—and I remember that they were so numerous that three secretaries, continually reading to the President La Gasca, did not finish in four days—was one from Vaca de Castro to him, to which he answered that many had written to incite him to come and lead them, but that he would not do so. On the contrary, he would remain in his house, for his Majesty had sent his Viceroy

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[1] Secretary also to the Marquis Pizarro. After the murder, he arranged about the burial and the care of the children.

who had entered the country, and that he would do what the royal service required. He wrote other things which were not intended to be so evil as some have wished to make out. It may well be that both letters were written by him.

After a few days Vaca de Castro set out from Cuzco, accompanied by Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo[1], Antonio de Quiñones, Diego Maldonado[2], the Licentiate Carbajal[3], Antonio de Altamirano[4], Gaspar Gil, Pedro de los Rios, Hernando Bachicao[5] and other principal people and some soldiers. With these he began the journey to the city of the Kings.

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[1] A native of Sahagun. He served with Belalcazar in the conquest of Quito, and with the Pizarros at the battle of Salinas. He was at the battle of Chupas on the side of Vaca de Castro. He afterwards joined Gonzalo Pizarro, plotted against him, and got his deserts.

[2] Of Diego Maldonado the rich there is much more further on.

[3] The Licentiate Carbajal was a brother of the Factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal.

[4] Antonio de Altamirano came to Peru with Alvarado. He was a citizen of Cuzco and had a part of the palace of Huayna Ceapac for his house, where he found a great treasure. His half-caste sons, very promising lads, were schoolfellows of the Inca Garcilasso, but they died young. Altamirano was put to death by order of Gonzalo Pizarro.

[5] Hernando Bachicao was a native of San Lucar de Barrameda. He is not mentioned until 1537 when he was at the Mala conference. He served at the battle of Salinas and at Chupas. Regidor of Cuzco, he was active against the Viceroy, and was at Añaquito. At Huarina he deserted to Centeno but was captured. Carbajal hung him. Bachicao was a cruel, faithless ruffian.

CHAPTER V

How the Viceroy departed from Tumbez for the city of San Miguel, beginning to enforce the ordinances, which aroused a strong feeling in Peru.

THE Viceroy Blasco Nuñez de Vela arrived at Tumbez accompanied by Francisco Velasquez Vela Nuñez his brother, and the Captain Diego Alvarez de Cueto his brother-in-law, with other knights, and his servants. He was intent on enforcing the new laws. He sent out his orders before he had been received as Viceroy, commanding all to receive him as such, for in that way His Majesty would be best served. He ordered that no extra tribute should be taken from the Indians, and that no force or ill treatment should be used in dealing with them. These and other orders were given which, although just, should have been carried out with much order and prudence, and not with too much severity nor in such haste. Nevertheless they did not give sufficient cause to justify those in Peru in their rovolt.

In Tumbez Diego Alvarez de Cueto and others who came with him, as well as some residing in Peru, advised that the new laws should not then be enforced, but that the Royal Court of Justice should first be established, and the kingdom be in the Viceroy's power. But the Viceroy would never see things in that light. From this it seems to me that God, by reason of the grave sins of those who lived in Peru, was served that affairs should be guided in this way, that afterwards the sinners might be chastised with His mighty justice. For certainly their pride and their immorality in openly sinning, merited punishment from God's hand. The gravity of such great sins deserved the calamities and excessive hardships which came upon them. The Viceroy answered, as he always did, that he

must obey the King's orders even if it should cost him his life.

He was fifteen days in Tumbez arranging these matters, at the end of which time he determined to set out for the city of San Miguel[1]. He accomplished the journey and was publicly well received, but really, at the bottom of their hearts, every one was sorry to see him, because he brought the new laws. Finally he was received as Viceroy, and at once began to enforce the ordinances. He ordered a copy to be made of the grants of Indians within the boundaries of San Miguel, asking the Caciques how many they had given, and the Encomenderos how many they had received, according to which he assessed the tribute which had to be paid. He then gave the Indians to understand that his Majesty ordered that they were to be free, and to be treated as his vassals.

The members of the municipality of that city, seeing how the Viceroy enforced the ordinances, entreated him not to do so at once, but to give time for the Emperor to be informed generally of the state of the kingdom that, in consideration of the great service performed for his Majesty, he might deign to show mercy and not to insist on the ordinances being enforced in their entirety. Although they supplicated in great sorrow, holding up their right hand in testimony that they would always serve the King with loyalty, their prayers availed nothing, nor the protests and representations they made. Further he presently superseded Diego Palomino because he had been Lieutenant to the Governor, and he gave complete liberty to the Indians, telling them not to give anything to the Spaniards unless they paid for it first, and to use weights and measures in their dealings.

News came to Truxillo and the city of the Kings of

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[1] Piura.

all these proceedings, with much exaggeration. Besides the people who were coming by land, a ship commanded by Juan Vazquez de Avila, who was her master, arrived at Callao, the port of the city of the Kings. The master said that he had landed the Viceroy at Tumbez. On the receipt of this news there was a great tumult in the city, hearing what had passed where the Viceroy was, and anticipating the enforcing of the ordinances. The magistrates and officials assembled and consulted respecting the approach of the Viceroy, and the trouble throughout the kingdom, to decide what course to take. After the discussion they decided that some learned persons of authority should go to meet the Viceroy and give him a welcome, informing him of what was happening, and how all, with bosoms on the ground, would do what their Lord and King commanded.

CHAPTER VI

How some knights set out from the city of the Kings to meet the Viceroy, and of his departure from San Miguel for Truxillo.

THE members of the municipality of the city of the Kings having determined to send persons to meet the Viceroy, they appointed the Factor Yllan Suarez de Carbajal[1], the Captain Diego de Aguero[2], both Magistrates,

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[1] Yllan Suarez de Carbajal was a native of Talavera. He came to Peru with Hernando Pizarro in 1534, then aged 31, as Factor. He was learned and accomplished. He strove to reconcile Pizarro and Almagro and was at the Mala conference. He was at Lima when Pizarro was murdered, and was imprisoned by the Almagro faction. His murder by the Viceroy finally destroyed the chances of that unfortunate man.

[2] Diego de Aguero was one of Pizarro's original companions at Caxamarca, receiving 362 *marcs* and 8880 *pesos* of gold from the

and Juan de Barbaran Procurator of the city. With them there went Pablo de Meneses[1], Lorenzo de Estopiñam, Sebastian de Coca, Hernando de Vargas, Rodrigo Nuñez de Prado and others. Among them was the Friar Esidro of the order of Dominicans, who went by order of the most reverend Don Jeronimo de Loaysa, Bishop of the city of the Kings.

Leaving those I have mentioned to proceed on their journey, we will return to Blasco Nuñez who, after he had done what has been related in the city of San Miguel and its dependencies, determined to proceed to Truxillo, and accordingly he set out accompanied by his followers.

The Factor, with those who went with him from the city of the Kings, travelled on until they came to some buildings called "Las Perdrices[2]" ten leagues from that city; intending to wait there until they met the Viceroy. Presently a Spaniard arrived in great haste and came to them. His name was Ochoa, and he said that he came with despatches from the Viceroy to the municipality of the city of the Kings and to Vaca de Castro. This was true, for the Viceroy had sent him in advance. The Factor Yllan Suarez de Carbajal, the Captain Diego de Aguero, as Magistrates, and Juan de Barbaran as Procurator opened the parcel. They found in it a copy of the appointment which his Majesty gave to Blasco Nuñez as Viceroy, and a letter for Vaca de Castro, ordering him no longer to exercise the functions of Governor, and to come to the

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Atahualpa ransom. He was employed to negotiate with Alvarado for his departure. He was a citizen of Lima and had a *repartimiento* at Lunahuana. He served at the battle of Chupas. He married a daughter of Nicolas de Ribera.

[1] Pablo Meneses was a native of Talavera. He was Camp Master at Lima 1544. He joined Gonzalo Pizarro but, going to Panama with Hinojosa, he changed sides and joined Gasca. He served against Giron.

[2] Or Llaches. See my translation of Xeres, p. 80, Hakluyt Society's volume for 1872.

city of the Kings. For the municipality of the city of the Kings there was another letter, ordering the members to receive Blasco Nuñez as Viceroy, by virtue of the order he sent, and no longer to look upon Vaca de Castro as Governor. The report was that this Viceroy, from the time he entered the kingdom, held the affairs of Vaca de Castro as odious, and that he favoured those who had taken the side of Don Diego de Almagro. These are vulgar rumours, and I do not know how much truth there is in them[1].

These despatches having been seen by the Factor and the others, they were delighted at the hostility shown in them to Vaca de Castro, and they decided that Juan de Barbaran, as Procurator, should go back with the news. He returned in all haste to the city of the Kings and, having arrived, he rushed through the streets as if the land had rebelled against the service of the King, shouting —"Liberty! the Lord Viceroy is coming, see here are his despatches." On hearing this there entered the town hall the Treasurer Alonso Riquelme, the Overseer Garcia de Saucedo, Juan de Leon, Francisco Ampuero, Nicolas de Ribera the lad, Alonso Palomino, Nicolas de Ribera the elder, being Magistrates.

The royal provision of his Majesty ordered that, by its authority, Blasco Nuñez should be received as Viceroy. But the document was merely a copy, by which Blasco Nuñez could not then be received as Viceroy. They met three times without being able to decide. At last, more on account of the enmity to Vaca de Castro than for any other reason it was resolved that the Viceroy should be

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[1] They were perfectly true. There is a letter from Blasco Nuñez to the Emperor Charles V, dated at Panama on February 15th, 1544 (*Munoz Coll.*, t. 83, f. 246) in which he brings all sorts of accusations against Vaca de Castro before he could possibly have verified any of them, and which he had received from followers of Almagro at Panama.

received in the city in accordance with the order. When they were in session they sent for the Licentiate Esquivel, a native of the city of Badajos, who, wishing to further the service of the Emperor, gave his vote that they should receive Blasco Nuñez as their Viceroy. This being done the Licentiate proceeded to Truxillo to join the Viceroy and offer his services. He sent a statement of these proceedings to Vaca de Castro, with the letter of the Viceroy. The Licentiate de la Gama[1], who was the lieutenant of Esquivel, notwithstanding that the Viceroy had written to him in a friendly way, left the city to meet Vaca de Castro, leaving the Magistrates in charge. They gave the rod of office to Juan de Barbaran, and made public the appointment of the Viceroy, which is as follows:

"Don Carlos by divine clemency Emperor, always august, King of Germany; Doña Juana his mother, and the same Don Carlos, by the same grace Kings of Castille, of Aragon, of Leon, of the Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Navarre, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Seville, of Sardinia, of Cordova, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Jaen, of the Algarves, of Algesiras, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Isles, and the Indies and Tierra Firme of the Ocean Sea; Count of Barcelona, Lord of Vizcaya and Molina, Duke of Athens and Neopatria, Count of Flanders and of Tyrol. We, seeing that it will be for the furtherance of our service and for the good of our province of New Castille called Peru, have seen fit to nominate a person who in our name and as our Viceroy will govern and provide for all

[1] The Licentiate Antonio de la Gama was sent to Puerto Rico in 1517 to hold a *residencia*. He went thence to Panama where he planned improvements. Arriving in Peru he was employed to negotiate with Almagro. In 1539 Pizarro left him at Lima as his Lieutenant and Chief Judge. After the battle of Chupas he judged and condemned the rebels. Vaca de Castro sent him to Lima as his Lieutenant, but he left on the approach of the Viceroy and went to Cuzco. The Viceroy excepted him from pardon for having joined Gonzalo Pizarro. He remained at Cuzco, and was living in 1551.

things appertaining to God our Lord, and to the increase of our Holy Catholic Faith, and to the instruction and conversion of the natives of that land; and also provide for all things conducive to the maintenance, peopling, and securing the welfare of the said New Castille and its provinces; for this purpose, confiding in you Blasco Nuñez Veia, and because we believe that our service will be furthered and the good of the said province of New Castille, and that you will discharge the said office of our Viceroy and Governor with that prudence and fidelity we expect from you, we, by these presents, nominate you our Viceroy and Governor of the said New Castille and its dependencies during our good pleasure. As such Viceroy and Governor, both in all that appertains to the instruction and conversion of the said Indians to our Holy Catholic Faith, and in the increase of population and prosperity of the said land, you are to act as may be convenient. By this letter we order the Licentiate Vaca de Castro our present Governor of the said province, our President and Judges of the Royal Court we have ordered to be established in our city of the Kings, our Captain Generals and Captains of the said land, all Councillors, Justices, Magistrates, Knights, Esquires, Officers, and Citizens in all our cities, towns, and villages in the said New Castille, who are now or shall hereafter be settled there, and each one of them, without any delay and without further waiting for any other letter or command, to receive and hold as our Viceroy and Governor of the said New Castille, called Peru and its dependencies, and to freely consent that you shall occupy and use those appointments during our royal pleasure, in all things, and each one of them, that shall be for the good of our service and good government, and all, while they hold their offices, shall obey and comply with your orders while you shall give all favour and help that they may seek for, and that may be necessary, and in all things they shall obey you,

and cause no obstruction to your orders. We give you power to use and exercise authority over them. It is also our good pleasure that if you the said Blasco Nuñez Vela are hindered in the furtherance of our service, or in the execution of our justice, you are empowered to banish any person who is now or may be hereafter in the said province of New Castille or its dependencies. We further order that you shall receive each year, for your two offices of Viceroy and Governor of the said land, 5000 ducats counted from the day you make sail from the port of San Lucar de Barrameda to proceed on your voyage to our said province of Peru, and we order our officers of the said province that they give and pay your due in the manner in use in the said land, receiving your acknowledgment. Given in the town of Madrid on the 1st day of March 1543 I the King."

CHAPTER VII

How the Governor Vaca de Castro came from Cuzco, and what happened to the Factor Illan Suarez and the others who went to meet the Viceroy.

THE Governor Vaca de Castro set out from the city of Cuzco to proceed to the city of the Kings, with the intention of seeing the Viceroy, notwithstanding that many of his friends advised him to go to the port of Quilca, where he could embark in a ship without seeing the Viceroy, and sail away to Tierra Firme. But he declined to take that course, and started from Cuzco with some troops to guard his person, with arms and artillery. There are some who say that he did this that he might supplicate for the good estate of the kingdom with them. Others affirm, and this is certain, that he took the artillery because he would not leave it in Cuzco, foreseeing what might happen. For the

clouds had always originated in Cuzco to spread over all parts. He, therefore, thought it prudent to take away the artillery and arms, as he did.

Leaving Cuzco he travelled onwards until he reached the city of Guamanga, where some other persons had also arrived. Thence he went on to the valley of Xauxa where he was met by the Licentiate de la Gama, who told him all that had passed. After having discussed the ordinances with some of his friends, and what was said of the Viceroy, he determined to send his Secretary, Pero Lopez, to meet the Viceroy and convey to him a welcome on his arrival, assuring him that he would serve him in all things, seeing that he came in the name of the King our Lord. Eventually he sent his servant Pero Lopez who started on his journey.

When the municipality of the city of the Kings knew that Vaca de Castro was coming accompanied by a large number of people, they wrote to him to leave his arms and his following, and to enter the city of the Kings privately, without appearing as Governor of the kingdom, for he no longer held that office, and that when he came they would guard his honour as a Member of the Royal Council and as having been their Governor and Captain General.

After Juan de Barbaran had returned to the city of the Kings, the Factor Yllan Suarez de Carbajal, the Captain Diego de Aguero and the others journeyed onwards towards the city of Truxillo. Travelling on Thursday and Good Friday they arrived at a town of Indians called Huara, which is 18 leagues from the city of the Kings. Late on Friday they continued their journey to another town called La Barranca, and on Saturday before Easter of 1544 they came up with one Ruiloba[1] who was coming as a messenger from the Governor Vaca de Castro. His coming caused no small perturbation for, when asked whether he

[1] Ruy Lopez ?.

had seen the Viceroy, he replied that he remained near Truxillo where he was liberating Indians; and that at San Miguel he had left the Lieutenant Palomino and others without any Indians, saying that he was going to do the same in all parts, including the officials of the royal treasury. After giving this news Pero Lopez went on to inform Vaca de Castro. The Factor Illan Suarez, tired with the journey and enraged at the news, was leaning against a pillar in his lodging when Captain Diego de Aguero said in a loud voice: "I do not care to wait until we meet the Viceroy. If he wants to take away my Indians let him do so at once, my son will not be in want of food, for he has property on which he can live." Saying this he set out for Truxillo, accompanied by Rodrigo Nuñez a citizen of Huanuco who was also at enmity with Vaca de Castro for having taken away his Indians because he had been a follower of Diego de Almagro the lad.

Meanwhile the Viceroy had departed from the city of San Miguel accompanied by settlers and soldiers, giving ear to anything evil that was said to him against Vaca de Castro. For from the time of his arrival in Peru he allied himself with the Almagro faction, and they spoke without any restraint against Vaca de Castro.

The ancient name of San Miguel is Piura, of Truxillo Chimu, and of the city of the Kings, Lima. The reader will remember this, for, forgetting uniformity, I may sometimes put one name and sometimes the other.

The Viceroy travelled by the Royal Road of the Coast, gazing on the vast deserts and the ruined edifices. He was told that they were once densely peopled, and he felt regret, saying that the numbers of these people had been so diminished through bad government. He admired the great and very ancient edifices which were built along the road, with such lavish care. In the valleys where some Indians remained, he made the lords and caciques to

understand that the people were vassals of the King of Spain, that in future they were free, that their tribute would be moderate, as well as the calls upon them for provisions and necessaries. If more was wanted they must be paid for it. Arriving at Truxillo he had a grand reception, though with mournful and pensive countenances. The citizens received the ordinances as a sign of war bringing ruin and a sad look-out, coming with words of peace but bringing war. Yet the magistrates came out dressed in purple, and Blasco Nuñez Vela was received as Viceroy in obedience to his Majesty's command.

The Factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal and the other knights went back to Lima, and they say that the Factor left a motto at La Barranca which said—"*Each man knows what he has, and does not give up his property to another. If he does he may be a laughing stock, but it will cost him who takes it his life.*" Others say that this motto was left there by Francisco del Solar, a citizen of Lima, and this may be considered a certainty[1].

CHAPTER VIII

How the Governor Cristobal Vaca de Castro saw the letter of the Viceroy, and how he was received at Lima having dismissed his followers and sent the artillery to the city of Guamanga.

It will cause great astonishment to hear the events of this narrative as they unfold themselves, for many were the troubles that arose in these kingdoms. Not only the hills and chains of mountains but also the rivers and streams are full of gold and silver, so that a country with such

[1] So thought the Viceroy who seized Solar and intended to hang him. This was prevented, but Solar was kept in prison until he was released by the Judges.

riches could not remain at peace. Most of those who had settled in it gilded their iniquities with great treasons, throwing the blame on the Captain Gonzalo Pizarro. Numerous were the letters that he received from all parts, persuading him to come forth from where he was, as all would join him, and assist him with their persons and their properties. Some have wanted to throw the blame on those of Cuzco but they were those who were least culpable, as further on I will clearly show.

The news of the arrival of the Viceroy in the kingdom, and his letter having been received, Vaca de Castro was much disturbed in his mind, as well from the things that his servant Ruy Lopez had told him, as from the way he had been received. He would wish, according to what they said, to enter Lima at the time of the reception, and make a petition respecting the ordinances. He desired that his Secretary Pero Lopez should see the Viceroy shortly, that he might be informed of all that had been done. But he was perplexed as to what he should do, being surrounded on all sides by anxious cares which greatly fatigue generous minds. It is needful at first to consider what steps to take with much prudence. For afterwards, if a mistake has been made, it is said to be the fault of those who have not looked in advance, whereas if all goes well they are regarded as prudent. In great affairs determination is more needed than counsel. For when murmurs and discontents are converted into wars it is better to follow a daring soldier than a noted scholar, for they say that to gild a mistake they make a hundred.

Vaca de Castro considered that if he entered Lima accompanied by artillery, arms, and arquebuses it would look bad and give rise to a doubt of his loyalty; while if he entered privately the Viceroy might ill use him, without regarding what was due to his position, nor considering his services to the King, for it was notorious that the Viceroy

was coming with a prejudice against him. Notwithstanding these dangers Vaca de Castro dismissed his followers and ordered the artillery to be taken to Guamanga. At Guadachevi, 18 leagues from Lima, where he received the news, he left the pikes and other arms.

The Licentiate, Benito Suarez de Carbajal[1], was with Vaca de Castro, and a letter came to him from his brother the Factor, to let him know that the Viceroy would deprive him of his Indians, as he had treated all others who had been lieutenants, or officials. He was advised, on receipt of the letter, to return to where he held the grant of Indians, collect all the money he could, and to go to Spain, leaving the Indians in trust to Rodrigo de Carbajal, Jeronimo de Carbajal, and Juan Vazquez de Tapia. The Licentiate Carbajal, having received this letter, read it publicly, and arranged the transfer with Vaca de Castro, although he was no longer Governor. He then departed to do what the Factor advised. This was one reason why the Viceroy was offended with the Factor, for he was informed of the letter he had written, by Antonio and Juan de Leon, when they went out to receive him.

After he had dismissed his people, Vaca de Castro went on to Lima with very few attendants without trying, by any intrigues, to form new friendships.

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[1] The Licentiate Benito Suarez de Carbajal was a brother of Illan Suarez de Carbajal, the Factor. He came with his brother to Peru, and was at the battle of Chupas. He joined Gonzalo Pizarro against the Viceroy to avenge his brother's death, and was at the battle of Añaquito where the Viceroy was killed. He then went over to Gasca and was at Sacsahuana, Gasca making him Alferez General. He was the Corregidor of Cuzco. The ladies called him "Galan" and "Buen Mozo." On June 24th, 1549, he was climbing into a lady's balcony at Cuzco, when the husband came out and cut the rope ladder; Carbajal fell 20 feet and was killed.

CHAPTER IX

How the Governor Vaca de Castro entered Lima, and what happened.

WE cannot deny that Vaca de Castro was a distinguished statesman and, barring his avarice, he truly governed the kingdom with prudence. Although he had dismissed his forces, and only came accompanied by some knights who were citizens of Cuzco, he consulted with them as to the way in which he should enter the city. He knew that the municipality had acknowledged the Viceroy only on the strength of the copy of a despatch, and he desired they themselves should receive his resignation, so that he might answer the Viceroy. He sent to the Licentiate de la Gama, who had been his lieutenant, to precede him in entering Lima, to return his rod of office, writing very friendly letters to numerous persons, full of hopes, while, to some who had complaints against him, he sent promises. Vaca de Castro never left off sending such missives until he entered the city. Whether these despatches were written then or afterwards he and his clerks alone know, for I cannot make out, though I know what passed, nor will the reader fail to understand. We know that Vaca de Castro parted with many Indians on this road, belonging to himself or to the estate of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro.

The Licentiate de la Gama had to retain the staff of lieutenant, because when Juan de Barbaran came with the despatches, he never liked to enter the municipal building, nor did he find it at the reception of the Viceroy.

O my God! how many deaths, robberies, insults, disgraces, destruction of natives were caused by the jealousies of these men who sought to secure commands. O that thy divine goodness had left Vaca de Castro among the snows

of Pariacaca never to appear again, that the Viceroy had fallen so ill at Truxillo, where he then was, that it might have been his end, instead of finding it with disgrace in Quito, and that another pit had opened for Gonzalo Pizarro and Carbajal, like the one at Rome. Wanting these leaders the miserable country might not have suffered such evils, and the sorrowful fields of Salinas and Chupas might have sufficed. The sins of these men were so enormous, and the charity among them so minute, that it pleased God that they should meet with great calamities.

The Licentiate de la Gama set out for the city of Lima in advance of Vaca de Castro, to know what was wrong with the Treasurer Alonso Riquelme[1], and why he and the other magistrates had accepted the Viceroy simply on the strength of a copy of the appointment. He conversed with Lorenzo de Estopiñan, who had come out to give him information, and to see if it could be arranged to give him some Indians. For he was a friend of the Treasurer, and it might be negotiated that he should have better Indians than those he had dismissed. Estopiñan returned to Lima, but the reply of the Treasurer was that he no longer had any friendship for Vaca de Castro who had dismissed the Indians, and that if he came he would have his head cut off. This Treasurer was very wise and cautious, keeping clear of being committed to any side, and he knew afterwards how to remain outside.

The Licentiate de la Gama, when he arrived at Lima, went to the house of the Treasurer Riquelme and persuaded him, as one of the principal citizens, to call a meeting of

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[1] Alonso Riquelme, the Treasurer, was appointed to that office by Charles V, and went out with Pizarro. He was in favour of murdering Atahualpa. He was at the founding of the city of the Kings (Lima) on Jan. 18, 1535. He was at Cuzco when Almagro arrived from Chile. When Pizarro was murdered he was at Lima where he continued to reside. He joined the Judges against the Viceroy, and was a very decided partisan of Gonzalo Pizarro. He was then an old man, but the date of his death is not known.

the officials, adding that he would return the rod of lieutenant, for when he had left the city he had not surrendered it with the required customs and solemnities. Besides the Viceroy had written to say that he would be in the city and that they should receive him as his Majesty had ordered. Though this was true, and the Viceroy had so written, the intention of the Licentiate de la Gama was no other than that he should again take his place in the municipality, and that when Vaca de Castro arrived he should again take up the government and be governor. Having been lieutenant to former governors his Indians would be taken from him, and he could not negotiate anything.

Vaca de Castro continued his journey until he came to the city of Lima. Although his arrival was known, there was no great reception, and no one came out to meet him except a few of his friends and some servants. With these he entered the city and went to the house of the Bishop Don Jeronimo de Loaysa. There the citizens came to visit him, and talk over the proceedings of the Viceroy and the rigour of the new laws.

CHAPTER X

Of the great disturbances in the city of Arequipa when tidings came respecting the new laws, and how Francisco de Carbajal departed from Lima.

When Alonso Palomino and Antonio de Ribera came to the city of Cuzco with the news of the ordinances, the Governor Vaca de Castro sent one Tomas Vasquez, with all the haste he could make to the city of Arequipa with a letter. It desired the citizens not to be disturbed, and to make no trouble whatever when they should hear the news

about the Viceroy and the ordinances because, when his Majesty was informed that it would not be for the good of his service if they were enforced, he would very shortly amend them. It ended by telling them to send representatives to Lima to state their grievance. Tomas Vasquez set out from Cuzco and arrived at the end of seven days, finding the principal citizens in the church. After they had read the letter Vasquez showed them a copy of the ordinances. When their provisions were understood there was a great disturbance, and the bells were rung as if it were a signal for war. A citizen of Arequipa named Miguel Cornejo took the ordinances in his hand, went up into the pulpit where the preachers deliver their sermons, and when all the people had assembled at the sound of the bell, he began to read the new laws before them all. When he came to the place where the King ordered that, when the *Encomenderos* died, all their grants were to revert to the crown, there arose great shouts of dissent, all declaring that they would die rather than allow it to be enforced, and they said the same with regard to all the other laws. Among those who were there the tumult was as great as it had been at Lima, the people going about sullenly, and discussing it one with another, saying that they were all disinherited and ruined after having, with so much labour and fatigue, discovered the province, and that they were ill paid for it. The Captain Alonso de Caceres procured that the tumult should cease, as such words could do them no good. So leaving this we come to the arrival of Carbajal.

Francisco de Carbajal wished to return to Spain knowing, from his experience in war, that there must be disturbances in all the provinces on the arrival of the Viceroy. He tried hard to induce the municipality of Lima to let him go, but he could not attain his desire, because the authorities did not wish any ship to leave the

port until the Viceroy should come. Seeing that there was little chance of attaining his end, he determined to go to the city of Arequipa, believing that he might find a ship in the port of Quilca, on board of which he might take a passage. He therefore departed from Lima in haste, with all the money he possessed, divining the great calamity that was threatening the country. For it pleased God that Carbajal should not leave the country but that he should be the scourge for the punishment of many, as he was, for so many perished by his order that it causes grief to think of it.

CHAPTER XI

Of the events in the city of Lima after the arrival of the Licentiate Cristobal Vaca de Castro, and of what the Viceroy did in Truxillo.

NOW we should relate the departure of Gonzalo Pizarro from Charcas, but it will be convenient first to relate what happened in Lima on the arrival of the Licentiate Vaca de Castro. He was lodged in the house of the Bishop Don Jeronimo de Loaysa[1]. News was always coming to Lima of the proceedings of the Viceroy in the city of San Miguel and more recently in Truxillo, with the object of enforcing

[1] Fray Geronimo de Loaysa, the first Archbishop of Lima, was born at Talavera. One of his brothers was Archbishop of Seville and President of the Council of the Indies. Fray Geronimo arrived at Lima as Bishop in 1543. He did what he could as a peacemaker. In 1546 he set out for Spain, at the request of Gonzalo Pizarro, to explain the state of affairs. But he found Gasca at Panama, and joined with him. He was at Sacsahuana and helped Gasca in the *repartimientos.* He held the first Council of Lima in 1551, having been promoted to Archbishop. In the insurrection of Giron he marched against the rebels. He befriended the two young daughters of the murdered Inca Tupac Amaru, taking them into his house. Archbishop Loaysa died on October 25, 1575.

the ordinances. The members of the municipality now very much regretted that they had accepted the Viceroy before he arrived at Lima and established the court of justice, without agreement with the judges, and they said one to another that a mistake had been made in acknowledging him before he had entered the city in person; for his Majesty had not ordered that he should be received simply on the strength of copies, without the original documents. It was also said that they should have waited until the arrival of Vaca de Castro, who was the actual governor of the kingdom. They say that Vaca de Castro spoke to the magistrates of the city, saying that no blame attached to those who brought arms from Cuzco, for it was only done so as to know whether the ordinances would come, so as to cause injury to all. Another object was that, in the absence of arms, there might be no rising at Cuzco and in the provinces beyond, for it is known that the people of Peru do not lightly suffer wrong. His people, knowing his wishes, and without considering their past dignities and offices, had, with patience and good will, laid down their arms and dismissed the troops, and the governor had entered the city with few attendants and privately, as every one had seen. In all this he had done what seemed most convenient for the service of the King our Lord.

When the citizens and magistrates heard these words they wanted Vaca de Castro to resume the government of the province and, being governor, that he would see to the common good, and that his Majesty might be informed that it was not for the good of his service that the new laws should be enforced. In order to conclude this measure, they met in their assemblies, requesting Vaca de Castro that he would be present, and agree to what they desired. They represented that he should resume the government. Vaca de Castro, thinking more of his

position than of his desire, replied with grave words. He said that they should hold their official meeting where he was, for it was not reasonable that he should go to them in person. Then various messengers were sent between them Vaca de Castro not wishing to go to them and they not wishing to go to him, both being suspicious of each other, for in times past they had always opposed him. The result of these negotiations was that the municipality ordered certain propositions to be drawn up for Vaca de Castro to sign, but as all this was done secretly the whole intention is not known.

The Bishop Don Jeronimo de Loaysa intervened in this business and induced Alonso Riquelme the Treasurer and Illan Suarez the Factor to make friends with Vaca de Castro. When the documents were ready the Treasurer gave them to Lorenzo de Estopiñan to take them to Vaca de Castro for signature. After Vaca de Castro had read them, he said that he would not sign any such thing, for that they needed both omissions and additions. There passed negotiations between the municipality and Vaca de Castro, but it ended in their not being able to agree to anything. There is nothing more to be said about Vaca de Castro at present, for they did not arrange anything they wanted with him. He remained at Lima and they even say that he showed no anxiety about the things that were said of the Viceroy.

Meanwhile the Viceroy was resting at Truxillo occupying himself with such trifling things that, when the court of justice was established, they could have been settled by a simple order to an alguazil. All those whose duty it is to rule kingdoms, and govern provinces, and do so without guidance are apt to think that they have achieved many things. If the Viceroy had quickly left the suburbs, and had entered the cities prudently, all the scandals and serious injuries he caused would not have happened, and

they were not few. All he did in Truxillo was to let the Indians know what he had ordered and done at San Miguel. He took away the Indians granted to the Captain Diego de Mora[1] because he was lieutenant of the governor, and treated Alonso Holguin in the same way because he had formerly held that office. In this city of Truxillo there were the Viceroy's brother Francisco Velasquez Vela Nuñez, a very noble and virtuous knight, and his brother-in-law Diego Alvarez de Cueto, a very prudent and steady adviser. Both these knights always gave good advice to the Viceroy, as well as the others who had accompanied him from Tumbez.

In the city of Lima Hernando Bachicao, Diego Maldonado, Gaspar Rodriguez, Pedro de los Rios and others, when they understood what was taking place in Truxillo, and how the Viceroy was enforcing the new laws, discussed many things among themselves, and finally resolved to go to Cuzco before the Viceroy arrived at Lima, to see what was going to be done, touching these ordinances.

CHAPTER XII

How letters were sent to Gonzalo Pizarro from many persons, being in Charcas, brought by Bustillo, urging him to come as Procurator of the kingdom.

THE Captain Gonzalo Pizarro had departed from the city of Cuzco, and had gone to the town of Plata which is in the region of Charcas, where he possessed a very

[1] Diego de Mora was a native of Ciudad Real. He came to Peru with Almagro and settled at Truxillo, marrying Ana de Valverde, sister of the Bishop. He was granted the valleys of Chimu and Chicama. He was at the battle of Chupas. He joined Gonzalo Pizarro and was at Añaquito. Then he turned round and joined Gasca, being present at Sacsahuana. But he refused to join Giron's rebellion continuing as Governor of Truxillo.

productive grant of Indians. He was at a place called Chaqui, arranging to work the silver mines of Potosi which had lately been discovered. There came to him a servant of the Comendador Hernando Pizarro, named Bustillo, sent to him by Antonio de Ribera, Alonso Palomino, Villacorta, and many others, with letters. Luis de Almao, a servant of Gonzalo Pizarro, also told me that Vaca de Castro wrote to his master advising him to remain quiet although things were looking bad with regard to the ordinances, for his Majesty would be informed of the truth, and would order what would be best for his service.

But the letters of Don Antonio, of Palomino, of Villacorta, of Alonso de Toro and others urged him to come forward promptly and relieve them from so great an evil as that which was impending. They also sent him the ordinances. The messengers arrived when Pizarro was hunting eight leagues away, at a place called Palcocon, his servants being quite unprepared for such a thing. When Bustillo arrived at the town, he found Luis de Almao and asked him to go to where Gonzalo Pizarro was. Almao replied that he would go with all speed, for he surmised that they would cut off his head. He reached the place at the second vigil, and Gonzalo Pizarro called for a light, asking who came there in such haste? Almao answered: "Arise, for Bustillo has come bringing news and letters for you, for they want to cut off your head." Thinking that he spoke of Vaca de Castro, Gonzalo Pizarro replied: "I will cut off his first, I swear by our Lady." Then he got out of bed without asking any more questions and, before the dawn appeared, he galloped off to the town of Chaqui, where he found the messenger. Taking the despatches he was reading them all that day, until midnight; and when he knew the provisions of the new laws he was much agitated. Without

finishing their perusal he went out, saying to those who were with him that such bad news had arrived that neither they would understand it, nor did he know how to tell them. Saying this he brought out the letters and the ordinances that they might read them. He then despatched Juan Ramirez to the city of Arequipa, that certain money might be detained which he had previously sent for transmission to Spain. I know not whether his tears were feigned or not, for those who intend to rebel and become tyrants deceive those who follow them in many ways. After a few days Gonzalo Pizarro went to the mines of Porco, where he collected all the money he could.

CHAPTER XIII

Of what happened in the town of Plata, and of the Procurators who set out to go to Lima.

AFTER the Governor Vaca de Castro had defeated Don Diego de Almagro at Chupas, he appointed Luis de Ribera as his lieutenant-governor of the town of Plata. He was an important knight, native of the city of Seville. At a time when the town was quiet and peaceful, without any sign of disturbance, the news of the ordinances sent by his Majesty the King arrived, and of the arrival of Blasco Nuñez as Viceroy. Besides the news, there came letters from the municipality of Cuzco, and from Vaca de Castro corroborating it, and advising that Procurators should be sent so that, with others from all parts of the kingdom, they might protest against the enforcement of the new laws.

The news did not fail to cause much agitation in the minds of the people, as it had done in other parts where

it had been received. When the first tumult was over there was a meeting consisting of Luis de Ribera, Diego Centeno, Antonio Alvarez, all three Alcaldes, and Lope de Mendieta, Francisco de Retamoso, and Francisco de Tapia, perpetual magistrates. They consulted in what manner they should receive these laws and ordinances. After having thought well over it they came to the conclusion that, as the King had decreed the ordinances, it would not be proper to resist to the point of rebellion, but to obey and, as humble vassals, pray that either some or all the ordinances might be suspended. With this object they would send persons from their town, who, with the voice of the people, would entreat the Viceroy not to enforce the laws until his Majesty had been informed of the truth, when he would order what would be most conducive to his service. Having considered who should be their procurators, they nominated Diego Centeno[1] the Alcalde and Pedro Alonso de Hinojosa[2], a magistrate who was also in the town.

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[1] Diego Centeno was a native of Ciudad Rodrigo. He came to Peru with Alvarado in 1534, and was at the battle of Salinas on the side of the Pizarros. He was also at Chupas. He then settled at Chuquisaca, and when the news of the new laws arrived, he and Hinojosa were appointed Procurators by the citizens. He seems to have wavered for some time, but eventually took up arms against Gonzalo Pizarro in Charcas. Old Carbajal went against him, defeated him, and hunted him until he was obliged to hide in a cave for nearly a year. He then collected forces again, surprised Cuzco, and marched southward. Gonzalo Pizarro and Carbajal encountered him at the battle of Huarina, where he was entirely defeated on October 20, 1547. He managed to escape to Gasca's army, and was given charge of Gonzalo Pizarro when he surrendered. Centeno was much dissatisfied with Gasca's distribution of the *repartimientos*. He went back to Chuquisaca where he was poisoned. He left two sons.

[2] Pedro Alonso Hinojosa was born at Truxillo in Estremadura and came to Peru with Hernando Pizarro in 1534. He was at the siege of Cuzco, escaped from Almagro, and was Standard Bearer for the Pizarros at the battle of Salinas, April 20, 1538. He was also at the battle of Chupas. He joined Gonzalo Pizarro and went to Arequipa to secure the services of Carbajal. Gonzalo Pizarro gave him command of his fleet and he took Panama. But he was talked over by

They gave them full powers to concert with the procurators who might come from other cities and towns the course to be taken in their petition, but all was to be done with great humility. Luis de Ribera spoke graciously to all the townspeople, assuring them that they need not trouble themselves about the ordinances, as his Majesty would be served by their revocation. Diego Centeno and Pedro de Hinojosa set out from the town to go to the city of Lima, Hinojosa having first seen Gonzalo Pizarro at Chaqui.

CHAPTER XIV

Of other things that were done by the Captain Gonzalo Pizarro, and how many letters came to him from all parts.

THE Captain Gonzalo Pizarro was much agitated by what the people said, and, being a man of little forethought, he did not calculate on future developments. At one time he thought he would remain in his house and not show the head of the wolf to the people as the saying is. Afterwards, mindful that his affairs were prospering, he would refuse to put himself within the lasso. At other times he thought it would show a want of valour to consider only his own position, when the eyes of all were turned to him, and felt that they would not be so ungrateful as not to think of his welfare, if he entered upon the business. He also considered that he had undertaken the discovery of Canela, whence he had

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Gasca and gave up the ships to him. Gasca made him Captain-General of his army, and he was at Sacsahuana. He received Gonzalo Pizarro's estates and mines in Charcas, where he was murdered by the rebels under Sebastian de Castilla in 1553.

come out unsuccessful and so seriously embarrassed that $50,000 would not pay his debts. It would have been just if his Majesty had named him as Governor, for all his services, alleging his claim as based on the testament of the Marquis and on a royal provision, he being still absent in Quito. These reflections aroused in him a desire to go to Cuzco, and assemble forces to oppose the Viceroy. Meanwhile letters continued to arrive from all parts, inciting him to set out speedily, striving to excite his anger, and urging him to undertake the enterprise as his own, for it was to liberate the province and befriend the people, as their patron and as he who, jointly with the Marquis, had discovered the kingdom. They told him that he should feel the misery and ruin which his Majesty's orders would bring upon them. That he might have a stronger inducement to interfere, it was hinted to him that he himself, with all who had been concerned in the recent troubles, were to be beheaded and all their property confiscated.

Having considered all these things, and being a man of little knowledge, Gonzalo Pizarro was inclined to approach the city of Cuzco, without thinking that it was madness to oppose the royal officers. At Cuzco he had faithful friends who would do what seemed best for his service. So he wrote cheerful letters to all parts, saying that he would come and attend to their wishes, adventuring his life for their welfare. Having collected all the silver, of which there were such quantities that 100 *marcs* or more were extracted daily, he determined to set out for the great city of Cuzco, leaving orders that what more of the precious metal was extracted should be speedily sent after him. About fourteen men, all being his own servants, accompanied him, and one who was his brother, having the name of Blas de Soto. As he approached Cuzco there came many letters from Lima and other

parts and he, keeping in his breast what he intended to do, held his tongue, showing by his silence that he would do that which had been urged upon him in the letters.

CHAPTER XV

How Gonzalo Pizarro sent a spy to Arequipa and further on to get news about the Viceroy, and how some soldiers arrived.

THE Captain Gonzalo Pizarro was very anxious to know whether the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela had entered the kingdom and in what part he then was. To resolve these doubts he secretly sent for a soldier named Bazan, who was very diligent and knew the country well. He asked him to set out at once for Arequipa and there to ascertain what the Viceroy said of him, taking great care that it should not be known who sent him. If the Viceroy should be in any province in the kingdom, Bazan was to come back with great speed, but secretly, with the news. If he should find that the Viceroy had not yet entered the kingdom, he was to go on to Lima, where he would be certain to obtain definite news. Bazan, with the desire promptly to comply with Pizarro's wishes, started with letters of introduction to many prominent persons in Arequipa and Lima, and after a few journeys he came back because he had ascertained for certain that the Viceroy was near Truxillo.

Meanwhile Pizarro arrived at the lake of Titicaca which is in the province of Callao, where he met the Captain Francisco de Almendras[1], who, with two youths who were

[1] Francisco de Almendras was one of Pizarro's original followers, and at Caxamarca he received 181 *marcs* and 4440 *pesos* of gold as his share of the Atahualpa ransom. He became a Regidor or Magistrate at Chuquisaca, where he executed several enemies of Gonzalo

his nephews, named Diego de Almendras and Martin de Almendras, came to join him, having heard what had happened and of his march to Cuzco. When they met, Gonzalo Pizarro was much pleased, for there had been great friendship between them since the time when they came for the conquest of Peru.

They continued their journey, talking of many things and, as it was told in all parts that Gonzalo Pizarro was on his way to Cuzco, more citizens came to meet him. At the town of Ylave he was joined by Gomez de Leon, Noguerol de Ulloa, and Hernando de Torres, citizens of Arequipa, and a soldier named Francisco de Leon. As soon as they had greeted each other, all their talk was concerning the rigour and harshness of the ordinances, and the violence with which the Viceroy was enforcing them, without listening to the prayers of those who petitioned that they should be referred back to the King their natural lord. Besides these, many soldiers joined Pizarro, who were scattered over the country. The first was Martin Monje who followed the war for a long time, and is now a citizen of the town of Plata. The soldiers joined Pizarro because they delighted in war and hated peace; for in war time they could rob at their wills, and use their neighbour's property as their own. They all knew from their own experience that in changes some lost and others gained. In the absence of peace and tranquillity in the kingdom poor soldiers might become prosperous citizens, and knights with great estates might become poor, and even lose their lives which is worse. So they offered their services to

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Pizarro, whom he joined with his two nephews Diego and Martin on the road to Cuzco. He was a violent and very active partisan. Returning to Chuquisaca he was seized by Diego Centeno and put to death, in spite of his entreaties to be spared because of his large family, June 16, 1545. His nephew Diego served against Giron, but was murdered by a negro. The other nephew Martin was afterwards Alcalde of Chuquisaca.

Pizarro with great pleasure, showing hearty good will to perform all that he required. He, who wrongfully intended to oppose the legal authorities, answered them graciously, and was pleased with the good will they professed.

As Gonzalo Pizarro continued his journey more letters reached him, sent by Alonso de Toro[1], Francisco de Villacastin[2] and other citizens of Cuzco, in which they told him the latest news. All the other settlers in Cuzco and other parts of Peru, although they expressed their sentiments freely respecting the new laws, did not forget to rob the Indians and to take as much as they could from them, ignoring the rules which were intended to put a rein on their avarice. Pizarro reached the town of Ayavire, which is the end of the province of Callao in that direction, and there he found waiting for him the *Encomendero* of that district, who was Francisco de Villacastin. He, as we said, had written a letter, also Tomas Vasquez[3], a citizen of Cuzco, who was on his way to certain mines of his, in Caravaya. He rejoiced at the meeting with Pizarro and, abandoning his Caravaya journey, returned to the city of Cuzco.

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[1] Alonso de Toro, another citizen of Cuzco, was Lieutenant-General to Gonzalo Pizarro. Diego Gonzalez, his father-in-law, killed him out of sheer alarm, owing to certain matrimonial quarrels.

[2] Francisco de Villacastin was one of the original conquerors in Panama and in Peru. He became a citizen of Cuzco, had a house there, and married Leonora Ccoya, an Inca princess, the widow of Juan Balsa who was hanged at Lima by Carbajal. Villacastin first served with Pedrarias on the isthmus, and was employed in making the road from Nombre de Dios to Panama. The monkeys threw stones at the workers, and one wounded Villacastin, who was then a cross-bow man, knocking out two of his front teeth. He had a good *repartimiento* at Ayavire. He died in prison after Sacsahuana, being a staunch supporter of Gonzalo Pizarro. Garcilasso says that he was wounded in the face by an enemy after he had surrendered. "He was a good man and did much good to many people."

[3] Tomas Vasquez was one of the first conquerors. He had a house in Cuzco and mines in Caravaya. He was a turbulent soldier mixed up in all troubles. For this reason the Viceroy, Marquis of Cañete, ordered him to be beheaded as an undesirable person.

Gonzalo Pizarro, finding that the wishes and acts of all agreed with what they had written in their letters, was very much pleased, and was eager to reach Cuzco. In order to do this as quickly as possible, he left his luggage in a town called Quiquijana, whence he went on to Cuzco by forced marches, having first said to a soldier, named Espinosa, that he was as certain that the Viceroy was now in Lima, as that Jesus Christ was in heaven. They say that, many times on that road they heard Gonzalo Pizarro say that if Blasco Nuñez did not provide a remedy for the ordinances, he would have to play a game on which he must count, for no one else in Spain wished to go out to enforce these laws. He added that his Majesty the Emperor, our Lord, had made a mistake in not sending him the title of Governor of the kingdom which he and his brothers had discovered. Then he swore that either the ordinances should be revoked or he would lose his life.

Further on he met Francisco Sanchez, a citizen of Cuzco, who with hearty welcome and in a loud voice said that Pizarro had done well to come, and that he should hasten to encounter Blasco Nuñez to pay him well for having brought the ordinances. Further than this they say that he spoke words against the powerful Emperor our Lord. Gonzalo Pizarro had met Juan Ortiz de Zarate[1] in the province of Callao, and had tried to persuade him to come with him to Cuzco. Juan Ortiz gave a prudent answer, without wanting to follow him, for he gathered from his loose and disgraceful words that he had no loyal intentions.

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[1] Son of the Judge (Oidor) Zarate. He afterwards joined Centeno.

CHAPTER XVI

How the Captain Gonzalo Pizarro entered the city of Cuzco, where he found coldness and ill-will among most of the citizens; and what the Viceroy did in Truxillo.

At the time when these events were taking place Garcia de Montalvo was Lieutenant-Governor of Cuzco for Vaca de Castro. He and the Alcaldes and magistrates of that city knew of the coming of Gonzalo Pizarro and that he was close at hand. After they had held a meeting to decide what they should do, they decided that they would go out to meet him with some show of pleasure, thinking that he would not boast or pretend to being more than Procurator-General of the kingdom. So all went out to meet him and gave him a joyful welcome. He went to lodge in his houses or palaces. Many of the citizens visited him but little, and showed that those who contemplated violence were not to answer for all. Others, on the other hand, made him great offers, urging him, without minding difficulties, to go on with what he had begun.

Before this I should have narrated the entrance of the Viceroy into the city of Lima, for he did so before Gonzalo Pizarro arrived at Cuzco; and we should have told what the Viceroy did while he was at Truxillo with regard to the treatment of the Indians. But first I must mention the flight of some of the citizens from Cuzco.

CHAPTER XVII

How some citizens of Cuzco fled from Lima without waiting for the Viceroy, and how he was advised of their going.

THE tumult in Lima was very great when news came that the Viceroy was coming and that he was enforcing the ordinances with extreme rigour. Vaca de Castro deplored what the people said of the Viceroy, and how ill they took his approach. He tried to appease them in public, saying some good things that, as time went on, he might not have occasion to say more evil: showing how all the provinces were tranquil and seeking the service of God our Lord and of his Majesty, before the Viceroy arrived, and that he was ill advised to come with so severe and rigorous a policy. The citizens of Cuzco, Hernando Bachicao, Gaspar Rodriguez and the rest also spoke in the same manner, showing a desire to leave Lima before the arrival of the Viceroy. As they sent their plans to many places, Santillana, the mayor-domo of the Viceroy, got news of it. He hurriedly sent a messenger, urging how important it was to come to Lima without delay, and not remain at Truxillo attending to trifling matters. This was not suitable to his dignity and to the authority existing in his person. Finally he gave an account of the tumults in the city and in other parts.

One Mendieta, also a servant of the Viceroy, set out from Lima with the letter, and, going with great speed, reached the city of Truxillo where the Viceroy had already been informed of what was going on by Diego de Aguero. After the arrival of the messenger, named Mendieta, the Viceroy was rather disturbed, but he did not believe that the kingdom would openly rise against him. He said that if he had fifty men of Aviles with him, it would be sufficient

to pacify the whole of Peru, never mind how many kicks they aimed against the ordinances. Presently he gave orders for the march to Lima, though his brother Vela Nuñez was ill. The Viceroy was accompanied by Diego Alvarez de Cueto, his brother-in-law, his brother, and the same knights and others who came with him from Piura.

The events already mentioned having taken place in Lima, the citizens of Cuzco, who had arrived, found that the negotiation between Vaca de Castro and the municipality had fallen through, and that the Viceroy had already set out from Truxillo. They reflected that here would be great difficulty in enforcing the new laws, while it would be easy to oppose the Viceroy and oblige him to leave the country. The Licentiate Vaca de Castro might be restored to the government, for whom all felt great friendship, especially Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo. They declared as the truth that the Licentiate Vaca de Castro consulted in secret with Camporedondo whether he should return to Cuzco, and, if the Captain Gonzalo Pizarro had arrived there, should act with him. If not he might be received as lieutenant of the Governor, the Viceroy not being received. Afterwards it would be an easy thing to induce Gonzalo Pizarro to return to his estate and to desist from what he had begun. All the cities would then restore Vaca de Castro as Governor.

These and many other things passed between one and another. Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo came out into the square and, looking at those who were there he recognized Santillana, a servant of the Viceroy. He then said, in a loud voice, that he should go back to Cuzco to defend his property, and that others would do the same, as the Viceroy so cruelly intended to seize it. He then took leave of Vaca de Castro and set out on his return to Cuzco, accompanied by Hernando de Bachicao and Beltran del Conde. Diego Maldonado and Pedro de los Rios did the

same, taking the coast road with the intention of reaching the province of Andahuaylas. They would not then be in the movements which they believed would be sure to take place. At that time the clouds were so congealed that, in no way could great calamities and troubles be diverted from the kingdom.

When Gaspar Rodriguez and Bachicao, with the others, arrived in the province of Huarochiri, they burnt the pikes left there by Vaca de Castro and took the small field pieces and arquebuses to Cuzco. Father Loaysa was following them with all speed. After they left Lima the Licentiate de la Gama also departed, attended by a soldier named Olea.

CHAPTER XVIII

How Gonzalo Pizarro sent Mezcua as a spy to Lima, and how, not finding the equipment he expected in the city, he did not wish to leave it.

WHEN the Captain Gonzalo Pizarro was established in the houses at Cuzco, some of the citizens came to visit him, but they were not all disposed to follow him in his policy of resistance. In order to gain them over, he said that he would dispose all his forces for the public good, as for his own brothers and companions; without saying a word that would give them any suspicions of his evil intentions and tyrannical thoughts, which were to seize the kingdom. The citizens had received news that the Viceroy was coming from Truxillo to Lima (where he had been acknowledged, as well as in all the other cities and towns of the kingdom), in order to see that no harm arose in the future from the proceeding of Gonzalo Pizarro. Those in Cuzco who believed this, agreed not only to show him no favour, but

seldom to visit him. He, seeing how cold those had become who had invited him to come, became sad, saying that he wished to return to Charcas. He sent for one of his servants named Mezcua, and told him to go to Lima with all speed, to find out what was happening there, and whether the Viceroy would soon enter the city. Mezcua set out, and Gonzalo Pizarro waited for the result, and to see whether the citizens of Cuzco would then receive him as their defender and Procurator-General.

At this time there arrived in Cuzco the Licentiate Benito Suarez de Carbajal, with a bad report of the Viceroy's conduct and of the rigour with which he was enforcing the new laws. Gonzalo Pizarro rejoiced at his arrival. The Licentiate de la Gama travelled along the route of Cuzco, very glad that he had been able to get away from Lima before the arrival of the Viceroy, but enraged at that official's proceedings, telling every one he met that they should return to Cuzco and not go on to Lima, because the cruelty of the Viceroy was great. The Licentiate Leon, being apprised that the Viceroy was near Lima, left that city by the coast road to Arequipa. He left a letter to the Viceroy saying that he did not go to create any disturbance, nor against the service of the King our Lord nor of his lordship; but merely to his own property. He concluded with the assurance that he would never join any one who was not a servant of the King. But he only kept this promise for the time it took him to write the letter. As soon as he arrived at Cuzco he expressed joy at Gonzalo Pizarro's position in the city. He not only joined him, but declared that it was lawful for him to petition against the new laws, even in arms, with the title of Procurator-General, if the Viceroy should insist on doing harm. The opinions of the lawyer and others who did not fail to endorse what he said, induced many people to join Pizarro, which did not cost them

more than their lives and estates, and being branded as traitors.

One thing I wish to affirm, that the citizens of Cuzco, as well as those of Lima, merely desired nor had they any other wish than that his Majesty the King our Lord should suspend the new laws because much evil would arise from their enforcement. When they chose Pizarro as Procurator, they nominated three or four conquerors to accompany him with his petition but these, being sheep, had chosen a wolf for their guard.

Those who have made kings out of tyrants have always done harm to republics. Those of the isle of Cadiz who, in war with the Andaluces, were constrained to send to Carthage for help, remained with all their republics as vassals to their supposed friends. Ceasing to speak of very ancient times in which there were many such examples as well among the tyrants of Sicily as in Greece, all the cities of Italy were free and exempt, but now are held by Lords and have lost their liberty, by what means those who are curious well know and can clearly see. In the name of liberty Pompey fought. Cæsar did the same, and Octavius and Mark Antony. These remained Lords, and of those who opposed them, some were killed and the others became vassals. As the Carthaginians did not give Asdrubal and his brother-in-law Hannibal rule and power over their city, their affairs went forward.

The citizens of Cuzco and Lima desired that their Procurator should be Pizarro, who was to venture his life and honour for their liberties. It was not remembered that he was the brother of Hernando Pizarro, the other raiser of former wars, and that it was publicly known that, after he came from Canela, many had heard him say that the King our Lord had treated him badly in not having made him governor of the province after the death of the Marquis, and, on many other occasions, that he would govern though

it was against all the world. From the time that Gonzalo Pizarro knew that the Viceroy had arrived, and that he had received letters urging him to undertake the enterprise, he had resolved to be Governor, though he carefully dissimulated, saying that he only sought the public good and his own rest, and that he only wished for the means to live.

CHAPTER XIX

How the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela was coming near to the city of Lima, and how Don Alonso de Montemayor went out to meet him with the Secretary, Pero Lopez, and some others.

HAVING left Truxillo the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela continued to approach Lima with a strong desire to find himself in it, feeling certain that the disturbed state of all parts of the country would be softened down by his presence there. Two men set out from Lima very cautiously, when his approach was known, who had grievances against Vaca de Castro, named Anton de Leon and Juan de Leon. They went on the road to tell the Viceroy what was passing, and to gain his favour. Continuing his journey the Viceroy came to a town called La Barranca. Here he met the Secretary Pero Lopez who had come in advance from the province of Xauxa and told the Viceroy what Vaca de Castro had told him to say. The Viceroy did not look favourably on the affairs of Vaca de Castro, thinking he was a very avaricious man.

Don Alonso de Montemayor had come from Cuzco with the Licentiate Vaca de Castro. When he knew that the Viceroy was coming near Lima, he went out to meet him. As Don Alonso was a principal person, the Viceroy was very glad that he had come and received him very

well. Don Alonso told him of the citizens of Cuzco having departed from Lima, and even what Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo had said publicly. The Viceroy deplored this, and lamented that men should so easily be moved to oppose what his Majesty ordered. He feared that it would cause scandals and disturbances and increase his difficulties. For he also had news of the letters which Gonzalo Pizarro had sent to all parts. As he came nearer to Lima other knights came out to meet him. Some urged him not to enforce the new laws, as they would cause serious detriment to the service of his Majesty. He said that he could not delay what his King had ordered. From the time that he arrived, he had seen the provinces disturbed at the Indians being taken from widows. He would not submit the protest to the Emperor as Don Antonio de Mendoza and the other governors did, which would have saved this kingdom from passing through such great miseries and calamities. But still worse! What do I say! That the coming of the Viceroy, as I have already said many times, was a scourge of God, sent to chastise this kingdom for its sins. They say how great was the prosperity of the citizens of Quito in those times. In their feasts and banquets some of them put on their tables salt cellars full of gold dust instead of salt, and all had $30,000 or 40,000 some more some less, which they had got out of the mines in a short time. They themselves were for the Viceroy and took him to their city where, on the field of Añaquito, he was killed with many of them. The cause of what happened in Peru on the coming of the Viceroy was the great sins committed by the settlers in that land. I myself knew some citizens who by their concubines had fifteen sons. Many leave their wives in Spain for fifteen and twenty years, living with an Indian girl: and so, as both Christians and Indians sinned greatly, the punishment was general.

CHAPTER XX

How it was known at Lima that the Viceroy was near, and how the Bishop Don Jeronimo de Loaysa and the Governor Vaca de Castro, with other knights and citizens, went out to meet him.

WHEN it was known that the Viceroy was near there were great disturbances and tumults in Lima, and all the people wanted to take up arms. There was a meeting of the municipal officers to decide what should be done, and they exhorted the people not to make a disturbance when the Viceroy arrived and entered the city, and until it was seen whether he still intended to enforce the laws. For in the meeting they held, they spoke of not obeying the detested ordinances even if the Viceroy insisted upon compliance. The Archbishop of Lima[1] told me that the Alcalde Alonso Palomino, the Treasurer Alonso Riquelme, and the Overseer Garcia de Salcedo came to induce him to come out to receive the Viceroy and require him not to enforce the ordinances. The Archbishop said that if he went out to receive the Viceroy he would require nothing from him, and that they, in like case, could do what seemed most advisable. It is also said that they spoke to the Archbishop on what they wanted to be done, calling him to hear their desires by ringing a bell. This enraged the Archbishop who said it was more like a village bell than anything else. It is even said that those who wished to resist, actually proposed to seize the Viceroy in the municipal building, and others relate that, in the lodgings of the Archbishop it was proposed that the Viceroy should be poisoned. The Father Baltasar de Loaysa told this to me, adding, that he knew it for certain. Talking of this

[1] He was then Bishop: not Archbishop until 1547.

not many days ago, to the Reverend Friar Domingo de Santo Tomas[1] of the Order of St Dominic, a person of great learning and sanctity, he swore to me that nothing of the kind ever happened as regards the Archbishop. The Archbishop has said the same to me himself, explaining that those who contemplated such things may well have been in his house, but that he knew nothing about it. It is certain that they plotted amongst themselves, and that they detested the very name of the Viceroy, but it cannot be supposed that either the Bishop or Vaca de Castro were concerned in the matter.

These tumults and rages having been appeased, the Licentiate Rodrigo Niño[2] was elected and appointed as Procurator to petition for three things, first the suspension of the new laws until his Majesty should take some other

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[1] Friar Domingo de Santo Tomas was a native of Seville and professed a monk there. He was one of six Dominicans who first went to Peru, being the youngest. He studied the general language, which he called Quichua, and his grammar was published at Valladolid in 1560. He also studied the language of the coast, which is much more difficult. He founded the houses of his Order at Chincha, Chicama, and Truxillo. He won the affection of the Indians whom he tried to defend. In 1545 he was named Prior of the convent at Lima. He strove to induce Gonzalo Pizarro to submit and accept the offers of Gasca. He then joined Gasca and was present at Sacsahuana, 1552. Vicar-General, July 28, 1553. Provincial. He then visited Spain and was well received at Court, returning to Peru in 1561, and was made Bishop of Charcas. He built the first church at Paucar-colla. After a residence at Chuquisaca he went back to Lima in 1567 to attend the second Council of Lima; and returning to Chuquisaca the Bishop died about 1570. Portrait in a room of the University of San Marcos.

[2] The Licentiate Rodrigo Niño was the son of a Regidor of Toledo. He was faithful when the Viceroy sent him, with others, to intercept Puelles, but he afterwards sided with the Judges, and had the custody of the Viceroy at San Lorenzo and on the way to Huacho. He joined Gonzalo Pizarro and, on the march to Quito, he forged a letter to get Maldonado the rich into trouble, and put it under Pizarro's pillow. He deserted Pizarro and joined Gasca who sent him to Spain in charge of convicts. Nearly all escaped in the West Indies, so when he arrived at San Lucar he was sent to prison in Oran. Released after two years he returned to Peru in 1554, and served against Giron. He married (third husband) Maria, sister of Bishop Valverde, whose first husband was Rodrigo Orgoñez. He was Alcalde of Lima 1555, 1558, 1564. His son Fernando was Alcalde 1597, 1603.

order, and receive information of the grave injury to the kingdom if they were enforced. The first petition should be presented with great humility. The second should be accompanied by a representation of the serious evils which would be caused by enforcing the new laws, for all the kingdom was disturbed, and the citizens of Cuzco who were in Lima had left it. For it was certain that Gonzalo Pizarro had received many letters from all parts urging him to allow himself to be named as the procurator and defender of all. The third object was to protest against the troubles and deaths that would be caused. The Captain Diego de Aguero had returned by order of the Viceroy and came to where the municipality was assembled. He told the magistrates that they should receive the Viceroy willingly, and that there was no occasion for any demands. Owing to this speech of Diego de Aguero they consented and gave orders for the reception.

At this time Don Jeronimo de Loaysa, Bishop of Lima, who had also been Bishop of Cartagena, and the Licentiate Vaca de Castro, with the Factor Illan Suarez, the Captain Juan de Saavedra, Pablo de Meneses, and the Factor Juan de Salas, with other citizens, knowing that the Viceroy was near the city, went out to meet him. They proceeded on the road until they met, and they were well received. The Viceroy was pleased to see the Bishop, and some discourse passed between them, respecting Vaca de Castro, to whom the Viceroy showed much cordiality. After some courtesies, the Bishop said he was glad that the Viceroy had arrived, because his presence would check the departure of citizens to Cuzco. He submitted that it would be profitable and show a Christian spirit to suspend the laws and advise his Majesty of the trouble they were causing. The Viceroy would know that anything which advanced the service of the King would be desirable. The Viceroy replied that his Majesty felt confidence in his

lordship, and himself no less, and that he would comply with what the King had ordered. As for the ordinances he would see what was best, and that he would do. At this point the Factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal joined in the conversation. He said: "Give me, Viceroy, your hands." The Viceroy was pleased and embraced him, for he had known him in the court of Spain, and he said: "I only regret that I can do you no good whatever." The Factor was dismayed at hearing such words. He turned back with the Viceroy and they reached a place called Xaguey. Here the Bishop, Vaca de Castro, the Factor and the others prayed the Viceroy to sleep there that night for though it was early it would be convenient, and next morning they would enter the city. The Viceroy cheerfully consented.

Many citizens and knights presently arrived to see the Viceroy and to kiss his hand, and he received them all very well. He took the Archbishop aside, so that no one else could hear, and told him that, being in Spain, without a thought of coming to these parts, nor knowing anything of Peru, nor having had any intercourse with the people settled there, his Majesty had ordered him to go out as Viceroy and enforce the new laws. He said that it was much against his will to come out and take away what others had given. Though he was assured that his Majesty would be well served if the new laws were revoked and more favour was shown to the conquerors, yet he prayed the Archbishop to apprise him of what had passed, for he had been told that certain citizens of Cuzco went about to cause disturbances in the land. The Archbishop said, in reply, that many days had passed since news had come respecting the ordinances, and that they had given rise to troubles throughout the country. It, therefore, behoved the Viceroy to act cautiously. These discourses took place between the Viceroy and the Archbishop. The Viceroy

had also conversed with Vaca de Castro and the other knights who were present.

Lorenzo Estopiñan had come out to meet the Viceroy, and seeing in him a disposition not to enforce the ordinances until the arrival of the Judges, went forward to take the news, and so did others. But though they announced this, they did not fail to feel much sadness, and the same was in the minds of all. They saw that the entrance of the Viceroy into Peru would give rise to a new war which would be worse and would last longer than former wars because it would be brought about from a more important and weighty cause.

CHAPTER XXI

How the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez de Vela entered the city of Lima.

THE members of the municipality of Lima did not rejoice at the arrival of the Viceroy nor did what he brought with him give them any satisfaction. So that they had made no preparation to receive him in the way that was required with one coming with so important a charge from his Majesty. Then Estopiñan arrived and told them that the Viceroy did not come to enforce the new laws before the arrival of the Judges. Then they took from the church the canopy which was used to hold over the most holy sacrament, the body of our God, when it was taken to the sick: and there assembled the Alcaldes Nicolas de Ribera, Alonso Palomino, the Captain Diego de Aguero, Francisco de Ampuero, the Overseer Garcia de Salcedo, the Factor Suarez de Carbajal, Nicolas de Ribera (Junior), Juan de Leon, and the Procurator Rodrigo

Niño. The Treasurer was laid up with the gout. All the city was sad and tearful with the knowledge that the new laws would so soon be enforced. The magistrates were dressed in robes, and a crimson cloth was placed on the canopy. For as the arrival was disliked, no orders had been given for the reception, except the presentation of the three demands adopted by the advice of Diego de Aguero. The Alcaldes held the poles of the canopy and were accompanied by a crowd of people. They came as far as the river, making a show of public rejoicing at the arrival.

In the morning the Viceroy set out from the place where he had passed the night and soon came to where they were waiting for him. He spoke to the members of the municipality with much love, and they answered in the same way and put him under the canopy. He was on a black horse covered with black velvet adorned with gilded nail heads. Then the Factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal said, in a loud voice: "Your Lordship, as Viceroy, on entering this city, we supplicate in all humility that you will confirm our liberties and privileges as is just." The Viceroy looked at his breast, and not seeing the cross he replied: "By the habit of Santiago I promise to guard and maintain those privileges which are in conformity with his Majesty's service." They conducted him to the church, where there were two balconies which the Bishop had ordered to be put up, one for the Viceroy, the other for the Bishop and Vaca de Castro. Mass was said, and the Viceroy was then conducted to the house of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. When the Indians saw the Viceroy entering under a canopy, an honour which they had never seen to be shown to any other Spaniard, but only when the most holy sacrament was taken from the church: they spoke one to another, and asked some of the Spaniards whether it was the son of God to whom such honour was

done. They were told who he was, and evinced much pleasure at his arrival.

In Pizarro's house, over the door of the Viceroy's bed chamber, they had painted an inscription—SPIRITUS SANCTISSIMUS SUPERVENIAT IN TE, and over the door of the hall or saloon, another—VELOCITER EXAUDI ME DOMINE QUIA DEFECIT SPIRITUS MEUS. Leaving the Viceroy in his lodging, the Alcaldes and Magistrates went to hold a meeting where they could consult as to what they should do.

The Viceroy, finding that the Secretary Pero Lopez was well liked in the kingdom, had sent him on the road to Cuzco with the royal ordinances, to notify them to the municipality and citizens.

CHAPTER XXII

How the members of the municipality of the city of Lima arranged to send messengers to the city of Cuzco advising that there should be no disturbance; and how when Pedro de Hinojosa, Diego Centeno and Lope Martin were coming to Lima Hinojosa turned back; and what happened between the Viceroy and the Treasurer Alonso Riquelme.

THE Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela remained in his house, while the Alcaldes and Magistrates met to consider the best course to take. The Treasurer Alonso Riquelme was so learned that he now asked to speak to the Viceroy for them all, with a view to sending a messenger to Cuzco. As he could not walk by reason of the gout, he was carried in a chair, heard their intention, and willingly undertook to get it carried into effect. The Viceroy, when the Treasurer came to him, rejoiced to see him and embraced him. The

Treasurer said: "Your Lordship is welcome as one who comes by order of the King our natural Lord. Would to God that you had come with more despatch, for the municipality, with its letter, informed you of the evil that would result from delay and of the advantage from arriving with speed. No one who goes to do business in any province should linger in the suburbs, but should come at once to the principal city, seeing that the small streams and brooks eventually lose themselves in the great rivers. Your Lordship must be very tired. Enjoy yourself and rest for a few days. There will be time afterwards to do what is needful, and we will serve you loyally, which I promise in the name of the municipality and the citizens."

The Viceroy cheerfully replied that he could not doubt the loyalty to their King of the numerous knights who were in the city. He would take some repose, while he waited for the Judges, when a court of justice would be formed, which would establish order in matters relating to the King's service and the peace of the kingdom. The Treasurer departed in great joy at this good answer. He gave an account of his interview to the municipality who were well pleased and considered that it would be well to send a message to Cuzco advising that there should be no disturbance, and sending the good news of the desire of the Viceroy to give satisfaction to all.

The Alcalde Diego Centeno and Pedro de Hinojosa, Magistrates of the town of Plata[1] which is in a corner of Charcas, were coming near to Lima, to arrange about doing what had been ordered with regard to their town. With them came Lope Martin, a citizen of Cuzco. Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo and Bachicao, with others, had left the city of Lima, and told things concerning the Viceroy which certainly were not just, saying that he was

[1] Or Chuquisaca.

enforcing the ordinances and taking away the Indians to let them go where they liked, from those who had been lieutenants. When Centeno and Hinojosa heard this, they agreed that Hinojosa should go back to Cuzco to report everything, while Centeno continued his journey to Lima with Lope Martin. When Centeno arrived at Lima he was very well received by the Viceroy.

The members of the municipality of Lima being assembled, it was resolved that messengers should be sent to Cuzco to counteract what might have been said by Rodriguez and the others, and to advise the people to make no disturbance, pointing out what great difficulties it would cause. Alonso Riquelme and the Overseer Garcia de Saucedo were requested, on the part of the others, to persuade Lorenzo de Estopiñan to go, with a letter of credence to this effect. Estopiñan consented to undertake the mission; and there was another meeting when it was agreed that the business might be better settled if Diego Centeno returned to his town. On his way he might give the citizens of Cuzco to understand what the Viceroy desired to do for the good of the kingdom. Some went to Diego Centeno, who had already asked leave of the Viceroy to return to Charcas. He said that he had come to Lima as Procurator from Plata, and that he rejoiced at what he had heard, for he understood that all would receive favour in the King's name. The municipality of Lima having requested him to take certain despatches to Cuzco, he asked the Viceroy whether he would be served by his accepting the mission. The Viceroy replied that he had every confidence in Centeno, and that he would be glad if he took the despatches that would be delivered to him by the municipality; besides which he would give him a copy of the royal provisions of his Majesty, by virtue of which he should be received as Viceroy in the cities of Guamanga and Cuzco. The Viceroy further asked

Centeno to tell the Spaniards in those cities to make no trouble for his proceedings were in obedience to the King's orders. Diego Centeno promised to carry out these instructions and, after some further business with the Viceroy he took leave of him, receiving the despatches and provisions.

Diego Centeno was a native of Ciudad Rodrigo. His father's name was Hernando Carveo, and his mother's Maria de Vera. He was a gentleman, not very tall. He had a fair skin and pleasant countenance, with a red beard. Of noble condition he was not very liberal as regards his own estate, but expended that of the King largely. He had the usual vices common among men in the Indies. He left Spain for the Indies at twenty years of age, and had close affinity with the Captain Peranzules and other captains in that kingdom. Having received the despatches and provisions he left Lima accompanied by Lope Martin. On arriving at Guamanga the provisions of the Viceroy were obeyed as his Majesty had ordered.

CHAPTER XXIII

How, when Gonzalo Pizarro was feeling very sad because the citizens of Cuzco did not agree with him as he expected, there arrived Mezcua who had gone to spy with letters from several people, and what else happened.

THE Captain Gonzalo Pizarro, on his arrival at the city of Cuzco, notwithstanding that Alonso de Toro, Villacastin, and Tomas Vasquez showed great willingness and declared themselves to be his faithful friends, had found a strong disinclination to comply with his wishes among the others. The reason was that they knew of the arrival of the Viceroy in Lima, and they felt that it would not be

right to oppose themselves to the royal orders. Seeing this, Pizarro was discouraged and somewhat enraged. He had been wrong and wanting in knowledge to be moved by private letters and conversations. He ordered his Indians to depart from Cuzco which they had done, and he was about to do the same when Gomez de Mezcua arrived. He had set out from Cuzco, by Pizarro's order, to find out what was happening at Lima. He met Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo and Bachicao, with others, at Guamanga. These used very ugly words against the Viceroy and the ordinances. When they heard from Mezcua that Gonzalo Pizarro was in Cuzco, they rejoiced exceedingly, telling him to return and report that they were coming. They gave him letters from some of the citizens of Lima who spoke of their hatred of the Viceroy. Pizarro was urged to drive him out of the country if he would not suspend the ordinances until his Majesty the King was informed of the grave injury they would do. Mezcua with great speed returned to Cuzco to bring such joyful news, just at the time when Gonzalo Pizarro was preparing to leave it.

When the coming of the citizens and the things they said of the Viceroy were known, opinions in Cuzco altered a good deal. Men declared that they would not suffer such injuries. Pizarro, sending for Alonso de Toro, Villacastin and his other friends, showed them letters he had received from Lima, and told Mezcua to state what he had been told by Gaspar Rodriguez and his companions. The news made Gonzalo Pizarro change his mind about returning to Charcas, and gave the citizens of Cuzco a reason for electing him as Procurator-General to prevent the new laws from being enforced until his Majesty had received and considered the petitions of the conquerors of Peru.

Here the reader may see how fragile and slippery are

the affairs of this world, and that there are many changes in every hour that we live in it. At one moment we find Gonzalo Pizarro about to retire into private life, and the people of Cuzco in no mind to make him their Procurator, nor to give him any other charge. In another, no sooner was it known that citizens of Lima were coming to arouse those of Cuzco, than Pizarro was accepted to take command over all others, march to Lima, and drive out the Viceroy. Afterwards, by virtue of a clause in the will of the Marquis his brother, Gonzalo Pizarro was to be received as Governor. Pompey the Great, when Julius Cæsar passed the Rubicon, was received as Captain-General against him and, being in Greece, at the proposal of the Consul Lentulus he was given a commission to raise troops, appoint captains, and fit out fleets against him who was looked upon as an enemy. The simple people of all nations, when they saw the mandate of the Roman Senate, and that Pompey was appointed as Captain-General to defend the republic, easily came to the conclusion that Pompey was fighting solely for the public good, which, God knows, would be that he who conquered might do as he pleased.

Thus, in the kingdom of Peru the news spread that those of the municipality and the other citizens had nominated Gonzalo Pizarro as Procurator. Believing that his only object was their good, they rejoiced and gave assistance. He had more time than Pompey had to mature the tyrannical objects which he fostered in his bosom. Happy those who were in the kingdom, and were able to desist from following the banners of this tyrant. But what can I say, being far away in the dense cane brakes of Quimbaya[1], yet this fury extended even to that distance, letting us know how cruel are these civil wars.

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[1] In the valley of the Cauca, in the newly-discovered province of New Granada.

CHAPTER XXIV

How Gaspar Rodriguez and his companions arrived at the city of Cuzco, and how Gonzalo Pizarro was received as Captain against the Inca.

NOW it is time, O city of Cuzco, that we relate the movements which occurred in thee, causing no small amount of clamour and mourning. But boast not of that, seeing that the deeds of the citizens were the causes of much bloodshed. The war which was commenced by thee spread beyond thy confines, as the sad conflict of Huarina bears testimony.

The Spaniards in Cuzco were aroused to great anger by what they heard of the Viceroy from Gaspar Rodriguez, Hernando Bachicao and the others. They rejoiced to find Gonzalo Pizarro there, giving him an account of all that had taken place at Lima, and how the Viceroy had taken the Indians from Diego de Mora, Alonso Holguin, Diego Palomino and others; and had declared that he would do the same in all parts, enforcing the new laws with rigour. All then understood the great injury that would be done to them. When this had been heard, all agreed to take Gonzalo Pizarro, and to go with him to pray that the new laws might not be enforced in all their rigour. Gaspar Rodriguez and Hernando Bachicao declared that the people of Lima intended to seize the Viceroy if he persisted in enforcing the new laws. Owing to these statements there was much anxiety in Cuzco, and the people expected to receive very heavy punishment. Yet there was a variety of opinions among them, the majority being disposed to take any course rather than obey the new laws.

The tumult having subsided, which arose on the arrival of the news about the Viceroy, it was decided to seek the

best way in which Gonzalo Pizarro, in the name of all, might represent the people. Yet it did not appear certain that power could be given to him, seeing that Blasco Nuñez had arrived at Lima, and had been received as Viceroy. On the other hand to withhold the power would be madness and would cause serious injury. Letters did not cease to arrive not only from Lima, but also from the province of Andahuaylas. Pedro de los Rios and Diego Maldonado had interviews with Francisco Maldonado, Hernando Bachicao, and Juan Velez de Guevara with others. They concerted with the citizens and the municipal officers that Gonzalo Pizarro should be appointed captain against the Inca who was, according to rumour, arranging to march against the city. As much reliance was placed on Pizarro, he easily induced the citizens, jointly with their municipal officers, to nominate and elect him as their captain against Manco Inca if he should come with warlike intent; and powers were given to their captain to collect arms and raise men.

But the desires of Pizarro did not stop there. He wanted to be acknowledged as Chief Justice and Procurator-General, with which authority he would be able to attain his ends. He wrote to the province of Andahuaylas, asking Diego Maldonado, the perpetual magistrate there, to come at once to the city. He also wrote to Pedro de los Rios to come to Cuzco. And notwithstanding that they preferred to remain in that province, and not to be present with those who were rebelling, they could not abide by their wishes, for so many letters came, that they had to go to Cuzco. When the news came that Gonzalo Pizarro was nominated captain against the Inca, soldiers arrived from all parts well armed with arquebuses and powder, eager that rumours should be converted into war, that they might emerge from the poverty caused by peace.

CHAPTER XXV

How Gonzalo Pizarro and his friends induced the municipality of Cuzco to nominate him Chief Justice, which was done against the wishes of many.

GONZALO PIZARRO rejoiced at being appointed captain against the Inca, because it was a step in the direction he wanted to go. Talking with the principal people of Cuzco, they discussed together the intention of the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela to enforce the ordinances, Pizarro pointing out that he had been induced to come from Charcas to help them, and that they should unite to name him Procurator, that he might have power to go and to supplicate in their favour. Letters kept arriving from Lima and from other parts urging him to lose no time in marching from Cuzco. The members of the municipality had a meeting where many speeches were made touching this business. At length it was agreed that Gonzalo Pizarro should be given authority, in the name of the city, to march to Lima and see that the ordinances were suspended until they had been again submitted to his Majesty the King. The people of Cuzco would risk their lives, goods and estates to secure this.

Gonzalo Pizarro, after this resolution, went about with armed men, and showed by his words and bearing that he expected something more than the title of Procurator. The Licentiate Leon had now arrived at Cuzco and rejoiced very much when he heard what had taken place. The Licentiate de la Gama had written letters in which he said many bad things against the Viceroy.

As soon as Gonzalo Pizarro was nominated Procurator, he began to talk with Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo, Cermeño, Alonso de Toro, Tomas Vasquez, and his other

friends, to concert measures for turning the minds of the citizens to receive him as Chief Justice, for if this was done he would have complete control of everything. The members of the municipality were much opposed, for it seemed to them that Gonzalo Pizarro, against their wishes, wanted to raise the country in opposition to the Viceroy. They would not give their consent, and some of them murmured, saying—"Perhaps you do not see the consequence of such an advance to contend against the Viceroy." They cursed those who had written from Lima, and that Gonzalo Pizarro, believing them too easily, should have come to the city, leaving the town where he resided.

When Pizarro understood this attitude of some of the citizens, he said that he did not wish to be Procurator of such an ungrateful city, and he did not desist from going about accompanied by arquebusiers and musketeers. There was then another meeting of the municipal officers, who made the following proposal, copied exactly from the original, which I saw in possession of a notary.

"In the city of Cuzco, 26th of June 1544, in presence of Gomez de Chaves, public notary. The Captain Gonzalo Pizarro was there and said 'I will resign the offices of Captain-General and Procurator of this kingdom because the magistrates and other officials of it do not wish to include the office of Chief Justice. If they should wish to entrust me with that duty I should not shrink from it, but would use and exercise it as I am instructed by them. Because it will conduce to the pacification of the soldiers, I desire to be chosen for that office, that being my desire, and I sign this with my name.' Witnesses—the Captain Francisco de Almendras and the Captain Cermeño."

When Gonzalo Pizarro said this, some of those who were at the meeting, were very much disturbed. For while, on one side, Gonzalo Pizarro said that he would resign the

appointments of Captain and Procurator, on the other the armed men who were with him seemed ready to elect and nominate him as Chief Justice. So they were afraid to come to a decision. The arquebusiers outside fired some shots to give those inside to understand what would happen to them if they did not obey.

In conclusion, after some further discussion, the votes were given in the following manner.

Juan Velez de Guevara, Magistrate for his Majesty, said that he would vote, and give as his opinion that the Captain Gonzalo Pizarro should be Captain-General and Chief Justice, and to this he signed his name.

Then Antonio de Altamirano, Alcalde, gave his vote that Gonzalo Pizarro should be Chief Justice, and signed his name.

Next the Captain Diego Maldonado the rich said that as his desire was to do what was best for his Majesty's service, he requested his colleagues to let him consult some one with more learning, after which he would be prepared to answer.

Hernando Bachicao, a Magistrate, said that his vote and opinion was that the Captain Gonzalo Pizarro should be Chief Justice until his Majesty should otherwise provide, and he signed his name.

Francisco Maldonado said that his vote and opinion was that as the ordinary Alcaldes were occupied in civil and criminal lawsuits, and as there were many soldiers in the city, the number daily increasing, the Captain Gonzalo Pizarro should be Chief Justice, and he signed his name.

Diego Maldonado de Alamos said that his vote and opinion was to seek what was best for the service of God our Lord, and for that of his Majesty, and for the good and service of the city and its people. He had not learning to be able to certify that the request of Captain Gonzalo Pizarro was right, nor whether he had the power to make

him Chief Justice as a Magistrate of that city, and to this he put his name.

Juan Julio de Hojeda said that his opinion was the same as that of Diego Maldonado de Alamos, and to this he signed his name. Then followed a document as follows:

"And presently, the votes of the Alcaldes and Magistrates having been seen, they said that the Captain Gonzalo Pizarro was chosen and nominated Chief Justice, and powers were given to him which appertain to that Office. They received the oath in due form, and he promised to use and exercise the Office according to law, and these names were signed":

Gonzalo Pizarro	Diego Maldonado de Alamos
Juan Velez de Guevara	Hernando Bachicao
Francisco Maldonado	Juan Julio de Hojeda.

They say that, at this time, the Licentiates de la Gama, Carbajal, Leon, and Barba and the bachelor Guevara, gave votes and opinions that Gonzalo Pizarro should go with an armed force to supplicate respecting the ordinances, and that they would show that this was legal and right. Even worse things than these were said, and votes were given which caused no little harm, many simple people, believing what was told them, following the tyrant in his rebellion.

CHAPTER XXVI

How the Alcaldes Antonio Altamirano and Diego Maldonado the rich left the meeting, but finally had to sign, and how the Procurator Alonso Carrasco declined to provide a petition on the arrangement in the name of the city.

At the time when the members of the municipality give their opinions and votes at their place of meeting, the Alcalde Antonio Altamirano, seeing that the intentions of Gonzalo Pizarro were tyrannical and evil, left

the building to avoid voting. Diego Maldonado the rich did the same. Gonzalo Pizarro came out with the wand of office, and all obeyed him as Chief Justice. Diego Maldonado being in his house, Captain Cermeño with a company of arquebusiers came to take him to the house of Gonzalo Pizarro who was very angry because Maldonado would not sign. Pizarro, with a haughty countenance, ordered him, having the first vote in the municipality, to sign before he left the room, that all might see it. He was told that his life would be taken if he did not sign, so he signed, but in a false hand, and different from his usual signature. Antonio de Altamirano also signed. Diego Maldonado asked all to witness, he and Pedro de los Rios making a secret protest that they did not join with Gonzalo Pizarro, nor would they be found acting against the service of his Majesty.

Notwithstanding what had taken place, those who were committed to Gonzalo Pizarro, in order that his reception as Chief Justice might be more pronounced, advised that he should speak to Pero Alonso Carrasco, the Procurator of the city, and induce him to present a petition to the municipality stating that the people rejoiced at the election, which was for the public good. Pero Alonso, acting prudently, and seeing that such a proceeding was not right, would neither make such a petition, nor present it to the municipality. Gonzalo Pizarro, indignant at his opposition, gave orders that his property should be confiscated. Pero Alonso Carrasco, fearing that they would kill him, took refuge in the church and, thinking that he was not safe there, he went to the house of Alonso de Mesa[1], a citizen of Cuzco, where he was concealed for two days and two nights.

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[1] Alonso de Mesa was a native of the Canary Islands. He was one of Pizarro's original followers, was at Caxamarca and received 135 *marks* and 3350 *pesos* of gold as his share of the Atahualpa

Gonzalo Pizarro was so enraged because Pero Alonso Carrasco would not send the petition in the name of the city that, as some say[1], he ordered some of his servants to kill the Procurator. One night Pero Alonso ventured out to go to his house, and was badly wounded in three places by those who were waiting for him. They left him, thinking he was dead. This is the reason that Pero Alonso Carrasco did not go with Garcilasso and Graviel de Rojas when they left the city to join the Viceroy.

CHAPTER XXVII

How a letter came from Lima, written by the Factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal, in cypher, and how the Captain Garcilasso de la Vega was asked for his vote for the nomination of Pizarro.

THE blessed Gregory says[2] that a great reward cannot be obtained without great labour, great knowledge and understanding, and long vigils, passing many nights and days in them. Solomon says that great riches cannot be got or held without great watchfulness and much working of the spirit. This narrative is a notable example for me, for in putting my hands to write a work so difficult as this upon which I am now engaged, in no way can I avoid passing long vigils, to make sure that the stories agree one with another, and that I do not in any way depart from the truth. But I know that the work I

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ransom. He was in the siege of Cuzco and served at the battle of Chupas. He concealed himself when Gonzalo Pizarro took up arms, and was at Sacsahuana with Gasca. He fled from Cuzco when Giron rose in rebellion and served against him. He was a citizen of Cuzco and had a house there. His son went to Spain to advocate the cause of the Incas.

[1] Herrara leaves out this and states it as a fact.

[2] Homily in S. Luc. c. xiv. *vv.* 25–33.

have undertaken, with the divine help, is worthy of the expenditure of such labour, yet in no part have I found myself so perplexed as at this point. I have felt that my weak judgment is insufficient to decide such great questions, insomuch that I have thought I must bring my narrative to an end, leaving the field open to an abler pen. However, the hold I have taken of it gives me courage to proceed onwards.

The city of the Kings having received the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela, and the conversation I have mentioned having taken place between him and the Treasurer, the Factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal, a direct servant of the King, wrote a letter in cypher, which I have had in my possession, to his brother Benito Suarez de Carbajal, in which he said that he should loyally serve the King, and if there were rebellions in the provinces, he should not consent to them, but come at once to Lima, where he would find the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela, with other advice to the same effect. The licentiate received the letter, and replied in cypher to the Factor declaring that he would act in conformity with his brother's advice in all things, and he wrote to the Viceroy, telling him what was taking place in Cuzco.

Gonzalo Pizarro, finding that the Captain Garcilasso de la Vega[1] had not approved of his election, being a Magistrate of the city, he sent to notify to him that he must give his vote. He replied that he was unlearned, and did not know whether he could certify to the nomination of Chief Justice. He did this to avoid either voting or signing a document which was clearly opposed to the King's service. Gonzalo Pizarro then sent for the Licentiate Carbajal to require him to say whether Garcilasso could, with justice, give his vote in this matter.

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[1] See my book, the *Incas of Peru*, pp. 260–274.

Carbajal replied in the affirmative. Garcilasso had given his answer with circumspection. In order to evade the necessity, he went to the place of municipal meetings and stated, in presence of the other magistrates who were assembled there, that he was not a magistrate by vote of the municipality, but by reason of the absence of a citizen, whose duties he had undertaken, which he now resigned, and that he protested he would do so no more. Saying this he left the room.

Gonzalo Pizarro, and those of the municipality, then sent Pedro de Hinojosa to the city of Arequipa to summon Francisco de Carbajal, the same who was the Serjeant Major in the battle of Chupas, to bring what arms and troops he could collect, and to come to Cuzco. Pedro de Hinojosa set out for Arequipa, where Francisco de Carbajal was residing, very anxious to return to Spain but unable to obtain a passage. When he understood the position of Gonzalo Pizarro and that he called for him, it is said that he was sad, wishing to keep clear of these complications. But he was a man experienced in war, and brought up in the profession of arms. He said: "I was very unwilling to put my hands into the warp of this cloth, but now that things are as they are, I promise to be the principal weaver." He then got ready to go to Cuzco, using ugly words against the ordinances, and saying that he had been like the cat that was so teased and ill treated that at length it turned to scratch its own master. If his Majesty sent such laws, he added, it was a decent thing to oppose them. Pedro de Hinojosa returned to Cuzco after delivering his message. The Lieutenant or Corregidor of Arequipa absented himself, and Hinojosa met with no hindrance or ill treatment. He occupied himself solely in collecting as many men and weapons as he could.

CHAPTER XXVIII

How the Captain Lorenzo de Aldana wrote and told the Viceroy what the people at Cuzco were saying, and how it was rumoured in Lima that Gonzalo Pizarro was nominated Governor of Cuzco.

THE Captain Lorenzo de Aldana[1] was in the province of Xauxa where he had a grant of Indians, and he heard what was being said, and how easily people had been moved to treat of affairs, from the citizens of Cuzco coming from Lima. He also had news how Gonzalo Pizarro had come from Charcas and marched to Cuzco, where he had claimed to be received as Procurator in opposition to the Viceroy. Aldana was anxious that there should be no disturbance nor war in his province, and that the Viceroy should act prudently. The business he took in hand was difficult and needed wise counsel. He wrote to the Viceroy giving him welcome on his arrival: and said that it should be known how Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo, Bachicao, and the other citizens from Cuzco had related with what severity he had acted on entering the kingdom, and how little sympathy he had shown, rejoicing that he should have come to enforce the ordinances, taking their Indians away from those of San Miguel and Truxillo, and how great

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[1] Lorenzo de Aldana came to Peru with Alvarado. He was appointed governor of Popayan, to supersede Belalcazar, by Pizarro. He was in the Chilian expedition with Almagro; but deserted the Almagro party, and was with Vaca de Castro at the battle of Chupas. He was Governor of Lima for Gonzalo Pizarro, who entrusted him with some ships to go to Panama. There he joined Hinojosa and both went over to Gasca, who again made him Governor of Lima. He served against Giron and was at Chuquinga. Aldana died very rich in 1571. He was conscience smitten on his death-bed at the treatment of the natives, and left all his wealth to be invested for the payment of the tribute imposed upon the natives in his *repartimiento.*

disturbances were the consequence. In order that it might go no further, and that those who were fostering the discontent might not be entirely believed, the orders of his Majesty should be carried out with much prudence. He said that he had been long in the land, and that he knew by experience the levity of those who settled there, and their willingness to see war break out, that they might profit by the disorders. Besides this, Lorenzo de Aldana wrote other things to the Viceroy, telling him that Gonzalo Pizarro was in Cuzco with the intention of being nominated Procurator. A few days after he had written this letter, Aldana left the province of Xauxa, and set out for Lima to join the Viceroy who rejoiced at his arrival. At this time the Captain Juan de Saavedra asked permission to go to Huanuco, which the Viceroy granted.

Many days had not passed in Lima before it was understood and known for certain that Gonzalo Pizarro had been received in Cuzco as Procurator to come and appeal against the ordinances. It is easy to understand this, for letters had always passed between Lima and Cuzco, the messengers going and coming. The news was now certain. They said joyfully among themselves, as it is reported, "Have you by chance not heard the good news?" "Well, Gonzalo Pizarro is nominated Procurator to come against this audacious man, the Viceroy!" Others, when they heard it, shrugged their shoulders and pressed their hands, unable to repress the laugh that came from their mouths. In short, great was the rejoicing among all the people.

The news came that Gonzalo Pizarro was at Cuzco assembling an armed force, and when the Viceroy heard it he was much disturbed in his mind. He could only say that Gonzalo Pizarro was a knight and a servant of the King, brother of the Marquis who discovered those

provinces, and that he would not wish to merit the name of traitor. He desired that the Judges would arrive, that the court of justice might be established. Many times he came to the resolution of going at once to Cuzco accompanied only by his brother and his brother-in-law Diego Alvarez de Cueto, with a few citizens. There were so many inconveniences that the Cuzco expedition did not take place though, if he had been there, the disturbances would have ceased, and the war would not have commenced. But to speak of these things is to attempt divination: for God had determined to punish that kingdom, it even seems to me that the unusual lightning was a sign of it, and that it had to pass through more calamities and miseries. According to what Plutarch says in his life of Lucullus, referring to certain questions which the Cyreneans put to the divine Plato, there is nothing more arduous than to bring under special laws the men who possess great wealth, for they are like men intoxicated and beyond their ordinary senses, transported by the favours of prosperous fortune. The same Plutarch, on the other hand, says that there is nothing easier than to dominate the minds of similar men who are depressed by many reverses of fortune, because their reverses had crushed down all their pride and lofty thoughts. In truth it is a notable sentence. For at the time when the unfortunate Viceroy entered Peru, he found the minds of men, owing to their wealth, not only ready to protest against the laws, but to oppose them. Yet when the same tyrant's proceedings had led them to disaster and misfortune, Gasca was able not only to enforce the laws but to enact others more heavy, and to carry out the will of the Emperor our lord who is now so powerful and so feared in these parts that his authority is not equalled in any other province in the world. I have said this, because it should be understood that his Majesty was

able, as sovereign lord, to pardon when his commands had been obeyed, although there is, from Spain to Peru, more than four thousand leagues of land and sea.

CHAPTER XXIX

How his Majesty sent a royal order to the Adelantado Sebastian de Belalcazar commanding him to execute the new laws and how the Procurators met in the city of Popayan and agreed to a supplication.

AFTER the death of the Captain Francisco Garcia de Tobar and the arrival of the warlike Juan Cabrera at the town of Timana, the chain of mountains was crossed which separates one region from the other, and the Adelantado Belalcazar came to the town of Popayan where he remained for some days. At that time, being in the city of Cali, the news arrived of the royal ordinances and of the coming of the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela to enforce them. There was a great disturbance, but the people all believed that their neighbours would refuse to obey the ordinances. They said that please God, they would agree to what their neighbours did, for the injury was so great. Then came the news that the Viceroy had been received in Lima which was displeasing to them, and made them think that those in Peru had little resolution. Then a ship arrived at the port of Buenaventura which brought the new laws in a letter from the very high and illustrious Prince our lord Don Felipe, ordering the Adelantado Belalcazar to execute and enforce the new laws and ordinances issued for the government of the Indies, in doing which he would perform a great service. When this royal order arrived, all the people were disturbed, saying that they could not submit to such a serious injury being done to them ; and that their services did not merit such treatment.

Belalcazar acted with prudence, telling the people not to be disturbed, for his Majesty would certainly show favour to them. He sent orders to all the towns and cities in the province to send Procurators, that they might consider what it would be best to do, in the matter of the ordinances. Having arrived at the city of Popayan, the Adelantado wanted to execute the new laws, having first put a great number of Indians under the head of his sons, because, at the time of compliance, it would not then be for him to give them up. The Procurators, when they saw that he wanted to comply, besought him, in the name of all the province, to support their protest. This was agreed to, the execution of the laws was postponed, and they named one Francisco de Rodas to go as their Procurator to Spain. His Majesty had already named the Licentiate Diaz Amendariz as Commissary General and examining Judge. In this way that province was kept quiet and there was no serious disturbance.

CHAPTER XXX

How, after Gonzalo Pizarro had been received in Cuzco as Procurator and Chief Justice, he named captains; and how Diego Centeno arrived at Cuzco and delivered despatches to Pizarro.

GONZALO PIZARRO, being received as Chief Justice in the city of Cuzco, made haste to collect men, manufacture powder, and prepare arquebuses, while letters continually came, generally in cypher, speaking ill of the Viceroy, and urging Pizarro to come down to Lima without delay. Now that he had got the command which he desired, he considered that it would be well to nominate captains and officers for the war. He thought of giving the appointment

of Ensign General to Diego Maldonado the rich, but he declined it with ingenious excuses, showing that it would be more advisable to leave him in the city. The members of the municipality also spoke to Pizarro, advising that Maldonado should be left as Alcalde and captain in Cuzco. Consenting to this, Gonzalo Pizarro appointed Alonso de Toro to be Master of the Camp. He was a native of Truxillo. For Ensign General Antonio de Altamirano, a native of Hontivéros was named. The captains of infantry were Diego Gumiel, a native of Villadiego, Juan Velez de Guevara of Malaga, Cermeño, who came from San Lucar de Barrameda, was captain of arquebusiers, Hernando Bachicao had charge of the artillery, and Pedro de Puertocarrero commanded the cavalry.

A few days after Gonzalo Pizarro had made these appointments, these rebels left Cuzco and those who wished to wage this wicked and atrocious war formed their camp. Thus the drums and fifes proclaimed its commencement. How rejoiced must have been the tyrant Gonzalo Pizarro to find that now he had the power to oppose the Viceroy, thinking that it would be easy afterwards to seize the government of the kingdom.

Lope Martin arrived at the city, publishing all the news of the Viceroy. Diego Centeno also arrived with the despatches and provisions which the Viceroy had brought. Some say that he delivered them into the hands of Gonzalo Pizarro of his own accord, without making any conditions. They say that Pizarro, when he saw the despatches, rejoiced at having got them into his power, and ordered Centeno, on pain of death, not to tell any citizen or any other person what he had brought. There was haste in getting the arms ready, and providing everything for the march ; and it was resolved to send to the city of Guamanga for the artillery, Francisco de Almendras, a strong adherent of Pizarro, undertaking the duty.

CHAPTER XXXI

How Gonzalo Pizarro ordered the Captain Francisco de Almendras to go to the city of San Juan de Victoria which is in Guamanga to seize the artillery that had been sent there by the Licentiate Vaca de Castro.

WHEN Gonzalo Pizarro conceived his evil design, he remembered that the artillery with which the younger Almagro gave battle to Vaca de Castro at Chupas, was in Guamanga. Having confidence in Francisco de Almendras, who was a citizen of Plata, Pizarro sent him, with thirty arquebusiers, to get possession of the artillery without doing any harm to that city. On the contrary he was to talk to the citizens and municipality, telling them that Pizarro had charged himself with the duty of answering in the name of all touching the question of the ordinances, and as they had written so many times and incited him to action, they should now be prepared to help.

Francisco de Almendras set out from Cuzco with his men, and arrived at Guamanga where, at that time, Vasco Suarez was Alcalde for the King our lord. When the object of Almendras was known there was a meeting of the Alcalde and magistrates to decide what steps should be taken to prevent the artillery from being taken away. Vasco Suarez said that he desired to defend the artillery, and to oppose Almendras and his men. Juan de Berrio, a magistrate, declared that with his person, arms, horses, and servants he would support the loyal intention of the Alcalde. Diego Gavilan said the same. The Captain Vasco de Guevara feigned to have a bad indisposition which increased so much at that time that he was unable to leave his bed. Almendras, in a loud voice, asked how long they would delay to give up the artillery? Those of Guamanga equivocated, not wishing to tell where the

artillery was deposited. Almendras waited, for the soldiers said that he had little occasion to pass compliments, for Gonzalo Pizarro had left home and estate to answer the calls of these men, and now they pretended not to know where the artillery was. Some say that Vasco de Guevara told Almendras where it was, but that is false. The truth is that, with the most persuasive words he could use, he deceived Francisco de Almendras and, when night came, he mounted his horse and rode off to the country of Soras, where his grant of Indians was, with the wish of helping and serving the Viceroy.

When the Captain Almendras knew of the escape of Vasco de Guevara, he had a mind to destroy the town. In a great rage he went to the house of Guevara, and tortured his servants until they confessed where the artillery was. He took possession of it with great joy, saying to the citizens of Guamanga that he had little to thank them for, that he would return to Cuzco, and they would see what orders would come from there. This done he loaded the artillery on the shoulders of Indians, and took the road back to the city of Cuzco.

CHAPTER XXXII

How it became clearly known at Lima that there was a rebellion in Cuzco and that the artillery had been taken, which gave the Viceroy much anxiety.

AT this time inconstancy began to show itself in Lima. The Devil walked out freely, putting evil thoughts into those who were well disposed. They talked secretly one to another, saying that the Viceroy would enforce the new laws. Others said: "Wait a bit, Pizarro is in Cuzco, and we have certain news that he will come with an armed

force, and will answer for all." The whole city knew this, and the Viceroy no longer ignored what he knew to be certain. Striking his forehead with his hand, he exclaimed: "Is it possible that the great Emperor our Lord, who is feared in all the provinces of Europe, and to whom the Turk, Master of all the East, dare not show himself hostile, should be disobeyed here by a bastard who refuses to comply with his laws?" The Viceroy was anxious that the Judges should arrive to found the court of justice, and the mind of this loyal man was torn with anguish at being unable to cause the royal wishes to be obeyed. He felt a great hatred against Vaca de Castro, and he found reasons for entertaining this feeling. For he knew that Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo, Bachicao, and the others who left the city were friends of Vaca de Castro, and he believed that they went to Cuzco by his advice. He, therefore, intended to have his conduct examined in order that he might be judicially punished, as soon as the Judges arrived.

Many days did not pass before the news arrived that the artillery had been seized at Guamanga, and it was said that Guevara had delivered it to Francisco de Almendras. No previous news had caused such grief to the Viceroy, and from his breast he hurled very angry words against Vasco de Guevara, saying that he ought to be severely punished for such a serious failure of duty. He was very suspicious of the people at Lima, not believing a word they said. Consequently they felt great fear that he would do them some injury.

CHAPTER XXXIII

How the Viceroy, seeing that the Judges were not coming, ordered the new laws to be publicly proclaimed, and of the imprisonment of Vaca de Castro.

FROM what has gone before the reader will remember that Blasco Nuñez Vela arrived at Lima joyfully, assuring the people that he would not execute the laws until the court of justice had been established, and it will also be borne in mind what passed with the Treasurer. But as he had come fresh from Spain where the majesty of our King is obeyed in such a manner, that every provision or order, however hard it may appear, is enforced and complied with notwithstanding any protests, he did not understand how disloyal the people in this kingdom had become, and the great looseness which had prevailed for some time. Notwithstanding the news of the rebellion at Cuzco and the seizure of the artillery he adopted a measure very suddenly which required much deliberation, forgetting his promise, and not considering how complicated and difficult the affairs of the kingdom had become, while the minds of the majority were dangerous and filled with animosity against himself. He suddenly ordered Juan Enriquez, the common crier, to proclaim the new laws publicly, that no one might claim ignorance, and that all might be public.

It is proper that the Viceroy's intention should be understood, and not be obscured. I truly believe that he understood the state of affairs to be serious, and all now living know that what our Cæsar orders must be obeyed, though compliance may be difficult, still the laws must be published and enforced. No doubt the Viceroy wanted to execute them that it might not be said, either in the present

time or in the future, that he desisted through fear from complying with the royal commands.

The great Alexander, founder of the third empire, and the most powerful King of Greece, we are told by Quintus Curtius and Arrian, had an excellent captain who passed with him into Asia, named Parmenion. This Parmenion had three noble sons, Philotas, Hector and Nicanor. Being Prefect of Mesopotamia, some of his letters appeared to be against the service of the King. Alexander suspected his general's son Philotas, because he knew through Diminus that he had a grievance against the King. He did not wish to communicate the matter to Alexander because it was a matter of life and death; yet for this and for the letters which were found from his father, Philotas was cruelly put to death. Alexander, calling on Polidamas, one who was daring, ordered him to go to where Parmenion was and to kill him, and after his death to show an order he had given about the captains, that those of the army might not mutiny. Polidamas, notwithstanding that he had received much kindness and great honours from Parmenion, came to him with some letters, and while he was reading them he stabbed him. Although the sight of his venerable person moved him to compassion, he could only give attention to the royal order[1]. In the same way the

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[1] Parmenion, Alexander's very able general who served Philip and his son for a lifetime, and had reached the age of 70, was left in command in Media when Alexander went onwards in pursuit of Darius. A conspiracy was discovered in which Philotas, the son of Parmenion, was supposed to be implicated. He was tortured and then put to death. Polydamas was then sent into Media with orders for Cleander, the second in command, to assassinate Parmenion before he heard of his son's death. The crime was perpetrated by Cleander with his own hand. Of Parmenion's other two sons, Hector was accidentally drowned in the Nile, and Nicanor was carried off by a sudden illness during the march into Hyrcania.

The comparison of the Viceroy's promulgation of the New Laws with the murder of Parmenion by order of Polydamas is rather far-fetched. The supposed point is that both felt bound implicitly to obey a royal order, however distasteful.

Viceroy was anxious that his Majesty should know that, with fidelity and good will, he complied with the orders he had received, without concerning himself with the scandals he must face, in proclaiming the laws. What I say is only to show the Viceroy's good intention, without contending that it was not foolhardy, and that the service of the King would have been better considered if the laws had been suspended and not proclaimed.

When the citizens of Lima heard the new laws proclaimed, they were much disturbed in their minds, and said one to another, "How is this? How can a Prince so very Christian as his Majesty seek to destroy us, when we have acquired this province at the cost of our property and the death of so many of our comrades. What will now become of our wives and children?" Many lost all feeling, and from that time looked upon themselves as bereft of Indians, and of all property. Being enraged they wrote letters to Gonzalo Pizarro, telling him what had taken place, and how the new laws had been proclaimed.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Concludes the former chapter down to the imprisonment of the Licentiate Vaca de Castro.

THE Viceroy was not ignorant of what was passing in the city, and the great tumult showed him that the citizens were very unquiet. He came out of his room declaring that any who said that Gonzalo Pizarro had not rebelled, would presently be given a flogging of a hundred lashes publicly. In these days Vaca de Castro always went to visit the Viceroy, who was so angry with him that one day he ordered him to be arrested and imprisoned in the old

room of the house of the Marquis, where the Viceroy lodged. He was there for eight days, feeling the treatment he was receiving from the Viceroy very acutely, and he regretted that he had not gone at once to render an account to the King of his government.

The Bishop Don Jeronimo de Loaysa was much distressed that the Viceroy should have thrown Vaca de Castro into prison. He besought him to release his prisoner, which the Viceroy did at the Bishop's request. But he proclaimed that anyone who had been aggrieved by Vaca de Castro was to send in his complaints in order that he might be punished if he had acted without justice. After a few days he again arrested Vaca de Castro and imprisoned him on board a ship. This imprisonment, according to what the Viceroy published, was due to a suspicion that Vaca de Castro meditated something against the Viceroy's person.

Lorenzo de Aldana had come from the province of Xauxa to see the Viceroy, having first written the letter already mentioned. The Viceroy thought that the letter had been taken from him and was in a furious rage. For this and because his authority was great and he had always been a friend of the Pizarros, the Viceroy ordered him to be arrested on suspicion, and he was sent on board another ship as a prisoner. He was there several days and then released, the reasons being given why the orders had been issued for sending him on board.

At this time the Viceroy ordered that there should be a fleet on the sea. He appointed his brother-in-law Diego Alvarez de Cueto to be Captain-General, and Jeronimo Zurbano to be captain.

CHAPTER XXXV

How the Bishop Don Jeronimo de Loaysa, regretting that these troubles should have arisen, spoke to the Viceroy of his desire to go to Cuzco, and what happened in consequence.

It was now well known to everyone at Lima that Gonzalo Pizarro was received at Cuzco as Procurator and Chief Justice. Don Jeronimo de Loaysa was Bishop in this city of Lima, which is the episcopal see. He was anxious that a civil war should not arise in the kingdom and that peace should be maintained. With the wish to serve God and his Majesty he wished to go personally to where Gonzalo Pizarro was. He, therefore, spoke to the Viceroy, representing the great movements that had taken place at Cuzco where it was reported that Gonzalo Pizarro had been appointed Procurator and Chief Justice, and was busy in getting arms ready, making powder, and providing everything necessary for war, and not convenient for supplications or protests. In order that the disgrace might not go further it would be desirable that some prudent and judicious man should undertake to move the discontented from such wild and wicked demands. As in like times the King expects such services from his vassals, the Bishop proposed to undertake the trouble, and to proceed towards Cuzco in order to persuade Gonzalo Pizarro into a more loyal course. They say that this passed between the Bishop and the Viceroy, and there were other discourses on the subject. The Viceroy showed himself well contented, saying the Bishop's journey would be of great service to God and to his Majesty, and a mercy to himself. It was settled that the Bishop should start without delay, because there were to be certain notaries to go with the royal provisions, to require Gonzalo Pizarro and his followers

not to move without consideration but to obey the laws of their King and natural lord, and to induce him not to come down to Lima with an armed force, and in the shameful way that had been announced. In order that the Bishop might make an honest agreement, the Viceroy gave him his word that he would agree to what the Bishop was able to arrange. He did not give him powers, for reasons which I will give at the time that the Bishop and Gonzalo Pizarro saw each other. For it is very troublesome to have to write the same thing many times. I shall give a detailed account of the Bishop's journey, because it led to very delicate negotiations, and I knew persons who were then with Pizarro, and also some who came with the Bishop, and even the Bishop himself affirmed that things happened as I relate them.

Some treat of this journey of the Bishop as if he went more for the good of Pizarro and his advantage than for the King's service. Well, I have no wish to go by vulgar rumours, because they cause confusion and make nothing certain. For we know that such rumours never contain the simple truth, although sometimes they may not be very far from it.

The journey of the Bishop having been decided upon, he set out from the city of Lima. He took with him a companion named Fray Isidro de San Vicente, and departed on the 20th day of June of the same year. There departed to accompany him on the journey Don Juan de Sandoval, Luis de Cespedes, Pero Ordoñez de Peñalosa and two clergymen named Alonso Marquez and Juan de Losa. They took the coast road and travelled until they arrived at the town of Yca. Here they met one Rodrigo de Pineda who was coming from Cuzco, and stated that Gonzalo Pizarro had already left that city, so that if the Bishop continued along the coast he would miss him. The Bishop, therefore, determined to ascend the mountains so

as to come out at the town of Gualle, in the grant of Francisco de Cardenas, a citizen of Guamanga.

The Viceroy understood that the rebellion of the upper provinces was public, and that Gonzalo Pizarro and his followers, after the many ugly words spoken against the King's service, were preparing to come in arms to prevent the royal commands from being obeyed. After having taken the opinions of his brother Francisco Velasquez Vela Nuñez, of Don Diego Alvarez de Cueto, of Don Alonso de Montemayor, and the other principal knights who were at Lima, he resolved to make a general call to arms throughout the kingdom. In great haste he ordered messages to be sent to all the cities and towns within his government, ordering all the citizens to come to Lima to serve his Majesty, with their arms and horses, without daring to show any favour to Gonzalo Pizarro or to any other who may be denounced as opponents of the service of the royal crown of Castille, on pain of being declared traitors and forfeiting all their goods. This being done the Viceroy ordered the Secretary Pero Lopez to get ready for a journey to Cuzco with the royal orders, requiring Gonzalo Pizarro and those who were with him to obey them fully with breasts on the ground as loyal vassals and subjects. Pero Lopez, notwithstanding the great danger he incurred, seeing that it was for the royal service, declared that he would go if the war was not commenced until his return, so that they might not kill him. The Viceroy gave the promise, yet if the ears of Pero Lopez were not deaf, he might have heard the sounds of drums and fifes before he had crossed the bounds of the city. In order that Pero Lopez might go more safely, the Viceroy ordered that Francisco de Ampuero[1], formerly a servant of the Marquis

[1] Francisco de Ampuero was a citizen of Lima, a friend and strong partisan of the Marquis Pizarro. After the murder he joined Vaca de Castro and was at the battle of Chupas. He joined Gonzalo Pizarro

Don Francisco Pizarro, should go with him, and so they set out from Lima. Simon de Alzate, Public Notary, also went with despatches and provisions, intended to draw off the rebels and bring them to the King's service, on pain of being declared traitors, while those who became loyal would receive favour and help.

CHAPTER XXXVI

How the Judges arrived at Lima and established the Court of Justice.

WE stated further back that, from the city of Panama the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela went on, and the Judges remained behind, to come later. After some days the Judges, with their wives, embarked in ships, landed at Payta, and began the journey to Lima by land. The complaints they received about the Viceroy were loud. They were assured that more than forty Spaniards had died of hunger on the roads, because the Indians would supply them with nothing. They replied that the Viceroy was a rash man, but that when they came to Lima they would establish the court of justice, that he might not indulge in such follies as he had done since he entered the kingdom. Talking in this way they arrived at Lima, where they found the place armed for defence, as the Viceroy had begun to declare war against Gonzalo Pizarro. When they arrived they were well received, lodged in

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and was Alferez General at the battle of Añaquito. He married the Princess Inez Yupanqui Ñusta, after she had had a daughter by the Marquis Pizarro. He took his young daughter Francesca to Spain where she eventually married her uncle Hernando Pizarro in prison, and had children. Ampuero also made a home for two unfortunate orphans, grandsons of Inca Manco. He was Alcalde of Lima 1571–1574.

houses of citizens, were well attended, and received many visitors.

They went to see the Viceroy who told them that the whole province was in a disturbed state, that Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo and Bachicao with others had fled from Lima, and excited the people of Cuzco where, without the fear of God or the King, they had nominated Gonzalo Pizarro as Procurator, and that he had seized the artillery which was at Guamanga, that, with it and the troops he had collected, he might march to Lima against them. The Judges were surprised to hear this news. The royal seal was brought under a canopy, the wands being carried by magistrates. The court of justice was then founded, and notices were sent to all parts. The Viceroy wrote an account of what was happening in Peru to the royal majesty of our Lord the King, from the time he landed, and how there was opposition to the ordinances which he had ordered to be promulgated. He wrote the same information to the members of the King's very high Council.

CHAPTER XXXVII

How some citizens of Cuzco, seeing the evil intentions of Pizarro, wrote to the Viceroy to receive pardons and to say that they would help him.

It is very certain that when there are grievances leading to war, and the first impetuous fury that gave rise to it has passed, reason resumes its sway with some who begin to see the error they are committing. Many who had joined Gonzalo Pizarro now began to receive this impression, and hesitated to march with arms against the Viceroy. They said, "Who is this that has deceived us into opposing the King? How can we supplicate or protest with arquebuses and artillery. Besides this we see the inclination of Pizarro

to take command." Others said, "Let us prudently adhere to our King before worse comes." Accordingly Diego Centeno, Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo, the Camp Master Alonso de Toro, Diego Maldonado the rich, Pedro de los Rios and others, with a clergyman named Baltasar de Loaysa wrote to the Viceroy asking pardon for what they had done without any penalty, and affirming that they were ready to serve him loyally with their persons, arms, and horses. In order that Loaysa might go without being impeded, under the guise of dissimulation, they submitted to Gonzalo Pizarro that it would be a wise thing for the clergyman to go to Lima as a spy, find out what was being done, and come quickly back with the news. Gonzalo Pizarro, thinking that they advised in good faith, agreed and gave Loaysa permission to go. So, with letters from many persons, he set out from Cuzco to Lima[1]. At the same time the Bishop, and the notaries and Secretary with the despatches, were on their way to Cuzco.

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[1] In the action which the Camp Master Francisco de Carbajal took against Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo and the others at Pucara on Sept. 28, 1544, Loaysa made a confession. He said that he came from Lima and lodged in the house of Gaspar Rodriguez all the time that he was in Cuzco, hearing all the doubts he raised. One night, the 23rd of August, in the lodgings of Luis Suarez and the licentiate Leon they began to discuss the ordinances. Then Diego Maldonado the rich came in, and Leon said that, if he had a safe conduct, he would go to Lima and argue with the Judges that the King was ill-advised in approving the new laws. Loaysa said he would go if he had the means. Diego Maldonado the rich heard him and said, "What is wanting, Father?" He replied that he had no horse. Maldonado said that he would provide a mount for him to go to Lima and negotiate with the Judges. Thus supplied Loaysa left Cuzco with many letters, and attended only by four Yanaconas.

Loaysa arrived in Lima when the Viceroy had just finished his dinner and, after making his report, he went to his lodgings in the house of the Accountant Juan de Caceres where he was visited by Pablo de Meneses, Don Alonso and Martin de Robles, Diego de Silva and several others. They asked for the news, and Loaysa said that Gonzalo Pizarro had 550 men. A provision of the Judges was obtained pardoning Gaspar Rodriguez, Gumiel, Guevara, Alonso de Toro, Tomas Vasquez, Villacastin, Portocarrero and Altamirano if they came over to the Viceroy in 15 days. The confession was taken down by the scrivener Pedro Gonzalez del Castillo.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

How the Secretary Pero Lopez, with Francisco de Ampuero, travelled along the road to Cuzco, how they arrived at Guamanga, and what happened to the Bishop after he arrived in that city.

WE have related how the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela ordered Francisco de Ampuero and the Secretary Pero Lopez to proceed to the camp of Pizarro and proclaim the royal ordinances, believing that Pero Lopez, being well known, would be safe, and Francisco de Ampuero would be in no danger because Gonzalo Pizarro had a friendship for him, as a servant of the Marquis his brother. Leaving the city with despatches, they pushed forward with all possible speed and overtook the Bishop. Having given an account of what their orders were, and received his benediction, they pushed on to comply with the Viceroy's wishes, and arrived at Guamanga where the citizens, knowing the power of Gonzalo Pizarro, were unwilling to receive them in the city. At last a meeting of the municipality was called. After some speeches it was agreed to do what his Majesty ordered and to acknowledge Blasco Nuñez Vela as Viceroy, in accordance with the King's command. When they received the demand that they should proceed to Lima with their arms and horses, they begged that the citizens might be pointed out, who were to go in company with the royal ordinances. They were so much alarmed that they did not venture to point out any one, and at last they asked the Secretary to name the citizens who must accompany the royal ordinances. He chose Juan de Berrio, Antonio de Aurelio and others, and continued his journey with them. The Bishop Don Jeronimo de Loaysa had arrived at Guamanga before they

started, and they reported to him what had been done. He told them to wait, because by coming together with him they might proclaim the ordinances with more authority. But they did not wish to wait for the Bishop, preferring to make the journey more rapidly, and so they set out for Cuzco.

The Bishop had received letters from the Viceroy in which he announced that he could raise 800 soldiers, and that with them he intended to encounter Gonzalo Pizarro if he had the insolence to come. The Bishop answered that he should not raise troops, but continue to rule with the court of justice, and despatch all business through it. He should await the arrival of Gonzalo Pizarro in his house, accompanied by the Judges. He gave this letter to Francisco de Cardenas who, they say, did not wish to deliver it to the Viceroy. This done the Bishop left Guamanga and set out on the road to Cuzco.

CHAPTER XXXIX

How the Viceroy treated with the Judges for their concurrence in taking the treasure which was in the ship to be sent to Spain; and how the Judges revoked the new laws.

THE Viceroy was much afflicted at what he considered to be the shameful conduct of the people, at having the audacity to rebel against a royal order. He formed many resolves, sometimes he was for marching quickly to Cuzco himself; at others he was for raising troops to defend Lima. Finally he summoned the Judges to meet him. These were the Licentiate Cepeda, the Doctor Tejada, and the Licentiates Alvarez and Zarate. They had only arrived a few days before. Having assembled he said to them:

"It is as well known to you as it is to me that it is the will of his Majesty that the ordinances shall be complied with and enforced in all these kingdoms. If you should make any changes, or order anything contrary to the wish of your prince, no doubt you will be looked upon as well informed and wise men by those of Peru who have armed themselves to defend their properties. But it is his Majesty the Emperor who, in this case, must be served, and without fear. We should take up arms and be ready to march against the rebels. Do not think that it is not seen what these people desire. It is that Pizarro may be Procurator of these new laws, and even if they are suspended he will not put out this cruel fire. He is not ignorant that if the laws are not suspended it will afterwards afford an excuse which will give colour to his treason. It will now be necessary to obtain funds by taking out treasure which is on board the ship with the rest that belongs to his Majesty, in order to raise troops. Eventually it can all be repaid from the forfeited property and estates of the traitors."

While the Viceroy spoke thus, the Judges listened to him with their eyes on the ground, and by their silence they showed great anxiety at the state of affairs, although they were not all of one mind nor did they all desire the success of the measures which their offices required. The anxiety they showed was that the Viceroy should assemble troops to resist Pizarro. There would be a battle, and if Pizarro was conqueror the Judges would not be committed. If he was vanquished the honour would rest with the Viceroy. Placing their own interests before everything else, the Licentiate Cepeda spoke first, because he had the first vote. He replied to the Viceroy's speech in these words, "His Majesty appointed you as Viceroy, and we were chosen as Judges. You, as the principal person, came as President and Governor with orders to execute the ordinances, but taking the opinions of the Judges in all

things. You are the head and the Judges are the members of the body politic, the whole being a body representing the name of the King's Majesty. It is well known what took place at Panama, and what the Licentiate Zarate said respecting your coming. You were aware of the considerations which were put before you. But from the time you entered the kingdom you paid no attention to them. You wasted much time at Piura and Truxillo, as is well known, without much advantage, indeed things became worse. The disloyal wanted to become tyrants. Their only cry was liberty, in that name they have risen and acted. You were not ignorant how unsettled and unrestrained were the people of this land. Princes often dissimulate with their subjects until a convenient time comes to strike and punish. The name of Pizarro certainly counts for much in the minds of many of the inhabitants of this city, and little confidence can be placed either in them or in those of Cuzco. It will be a loss, and will do harm to spend the treasure of the King. The Bishop and the Regent[1] have gone to treat for peace. You ought to wait for the result, and for what the rebels say to the provision brought to them by Pero Lopez. You should give orders for the revocation of the ordinances though it would have been better if you had done this at Tumbez."

The other Judges concurred.

Besides these discourses there were many others, because the Judges had previously agreed to make a requirement

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[1] Friar Tomas de San Martin, Regent or Principal of the Dominicans. He left Lima before the Bishop, overtaking Pero Lopez and Ampuero at Vilcas. He was authorized to negotiate with Gonzalo Pizarro, to offer him certain terms, and to try to alienate his officers from him. These negotiations came to an end in January, 1544. The Regent was also empowered by the Judges to ascertain in what light they were looked upon by Pizarro. He was assured that the rebels desired that the Judges and their court should remain in accordance with the King's orders. Pizarro sent a letter to the Judges by the Regent.

to the Viceroy not to enforce the new laws, but they did not dare to present it. As it was there were words between Cepeda and the Viceroy. It was stated by the Viceroy that, the court of justice having been founded, he did not need to take counsel with the Judges.

After these discourses the Viceroy determined to take the treasure out of the ships, as a means for resisting the treason which Pizarro had commenced. A sum of $100,000 or more was landed and taken to the treasury. The Viceroy then, with a valiant mind, began to hold Pizarro and his forces very cheap, and animated those who were in Lima. He also ordered the new laws to be revoked until his Majesty should order otherwise, except so far as governors and royal officers were concerned. Before the suspension he exclaimed, as a protest, that he did not do this willingly but as the only means of putting down the rebellion. The suspension was publicly proclaimed throughout the kingdom. If the people wanted no more than the suspension, they saw this done. But they were not worthy of that concession, for afterwards, by their mad insurrections, many lives were lost to support him they had elected for their defender, and certainly so much blood has been shed and properties lost, that it is sad to think of it. The thoughts of those men who seek the beginning without considering what will be the end should be stopped before they enter upon that beginning. Diogenes Laertius, among the sentences of the wise Plato, quotes this: "All men should first consider the consequence of what they intend to do, that they may not do a thing which is reprehensible and to be condemned." Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in the eighth book of his Roman Antiquities, says: "You will never find that there has been a man to whom everything has always happened prosperously and according to his wishes. At some time fortune will have been against him. For this reason those who are more prudent than others,

having longer lives and more experience, tell us that when a man is going to do anything, before he begins he should consider what will be the end." The tyrants of the city of Jerusalem, Simon and John, according to Josephus in his *De bello Judaico*, who the people elected as their defenders, did more harm than the Romans could have done. Those of Milan chose Guelpone, Count of Angleria[1], as their captain, and the end of it was that the opulent city of Milan was burnt to ashes by Frederick Barbarossa[2]. The only real liberty is under royal government. If this is not true ask Arequipa what happened at Huarina, ask Quito about Anaquito. Ask them if it would not have been better never to have known Gonzalo Pizarro, and always to have their lord the King for sovereign, not with bright colours on the outside, and within full of dirt and soot, to oppose the King's ministers, and those he sent as his delegates and lieutenants.

CHAPTER XL

How the Viceroy appointed captains and assembled troops.

I KNOW well that I digressed in the preceding chapter, but I could not do less in dealing with the materials. There are those who, when the author is long in his chapters and tedious in relating events, throw the book on the bench, not thinking well of the writer. On this I will quote what the glorious Doctor St Jerome[3] says, in his treatise on the

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[1] The husband of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany was Guelpone or Welphone, to whom the Milanese confided the defence of their liberties in the early times of the Lombard Republic.

[2] A.D. 1160.

[3] St Jerome never wrote any special treatise on the instruction of virgins. He treats of the subject in his *Epistolae ad Eustachium*,

instruction of virgins, "Keep thy tongue from evil speaking, and put the bit and bridle of reason on thy mouth. If thou must speak because it would be sin to keep silent, take care not to say anything that can be blamed." Leaving off any further remarks on this, we will proceed with the course of our history.

The Viceroy, now having news of what was occurring in the city of Cuzco, appointed Don Alonso de Montemayor to be captain of cavalry, a native of Seville and a very loyal knight. His brother-in-law Diego Alvarez de Cueto was also appointed a captain of cavalry. He was a native of Avila. The captain of arquebusiers was Diego de Urbina, a Biscayan. Afterwards he was appointed to the post of Camp Master, the captaincy of arquebusiers being given to Gonzalo Diaz de Pineda, a native of the Montaña[1]. Captains of infantry were Pablo de Meneses of Talavera and Martin de Robles. Juan Velasquez Vela Nuñez was appointed Captain of the Guard. After the Viceroy had made these appointments he addressed the officers, saying that they were to be captains in the service of the King our Lord in order that if any tyrant should rise in rebellion with an armed force, they should give such a lesson that, the leaders having been punished, the province might remain quiet. He had placed his eyes upon them, taking them to be his companions and special friends into whose keeping he confided his person and his honour. As a man arrived from Spain in this new kingdom, he had not known who to trust. The Captain Don Alonso answered, that for his part he would die in the service of the Viceroy, and all the captains said the same, showing a strong desire to serve

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Le custodia virginitatis, and in other places. But in none of these does the passage quoted by Cieza occur. It is in an anonymous letter entitled *Virginitatis laus* which has been attributed, without any reason, to St Jerome.

[1] I.e. the province of Santander.

him. There then began the beating of drums, displaying of colours, and enlisting of men. Don Antonio de Ribera, Alonso Palomino and other citizens sent news of all this to Gonzalo Pizarro, putting their letters in very small calabashes, that they might not be seen by anyone. They even say that when Don Antonio could not send them, his wife did it. Sayavedra was appointed as Serjeant-Major, and at the sound of the drum 500 men were assembled, their pay being $300 or 400. Many horses were bought at $500 to 600 each, and more. In the end about $100,000 were spent.

Vasco de Guevara, the citizen of Guamanga, came to Lima to clear himself of what was said against him about the artillery. The Viceroy appeared to be angry, but accepted his excuses, and took him into favour. Francisco de Cardenas was at Huaytara, knew all that was happening, and promptly sent the news to Gonzalo Pizarro. They say also that the clergyman Juan de Losa, who went with the Bishop, when he arrived at Guamanga sent a letter to Pizarro advising him to begin his march, as the Viceroy was disliked, and he said other things not in accordance with his profession. If I was to recount all the intrigues of friars and clergy at this time I should never finish, and Christian ears would feel pain in hearing them. This Losa also wrote advising the rebels not to allow the Bishop to come to them, because he came to deceive them, adding that he would advise them of everything that happened, with all diligence.

CHAPTER XLI

How Gonzalo Pizarro prepared to depart from the city of Cuzco and how he ordered the Captain Francisco de Almendras to go and seize the despatches that were coming.

GONZALO pressed forward his preparations for war, desiring shortly to open the campaign. Letters came constantly from Lima and Guamanga keeping him informed of what was taking place, and he knew of the approach of the Bishop and also of Francisco Ampuero and Pero Lopez with the royal provisions. Understanding all this he gave orders to Francisco de Almendras, who, when he took away the artillery from Guamanga had placed it in Abancay, whence he went on to see Pizarro, to go back and take the royal provisions from those who brought them and to find out from the Bishop what his wishes were in coming. Almendras proceeded to carry out the instructions of Gonzalo Pizarro, with the help of the arquebusiers who had been left to guard the artillery. He was to meet those who were coming with the royal provisions, and not to allow them to bring their despatches to Cuzco, lest they should disturb the minds of those who already showed such readiness to change.

This business having been arranged, Gonzalo Pizarro sent letters to Pedro de Puelles[1] who was Governor of

[1] Pedro de Puelles came to Peru with Alvarado in 1534, and was Lieutenant-Governor of Quito during the expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro into Quijos. He was at the battle of Chupas, and in 1544 was appointed Governor of Huanuco by Vaca de Castro. He was confirmed in this office by the Viceroy and was well received by him. Yet he joined Gonzalo Pizarro, went in chase of the Viceroy, and when Carbajal turned back owing to Centeno's proceedings, Puelles was made Camp Master. At Añaquito he ordered the Viceroy to be killed. Puelles was again Governor of Quito. Returning to Lima he urged Gonzalo Pizarro to declare himself King. Then he resolved to betray Pizarro and join Gasca, but he was assassinated by his own officers.

Huanuco, and had come to Lima where he had been received with all honour by the Viceroy who confirmed him in the appointment he had held since the time of Vaca de Castro. Pizarro sent the letter by a diligent runner named Vicente Pablo. In his letter Pizarro sent to ask him to come and join him with as many as he could collect, as the city of Cuzco had elected him as Procurator and Chief Justice to proceed to Lima and protest against the ordinances. Pedro de Puelles, having received the letter, sent his reply by the same hand. He said that he had always held the affairs of the Pizarros in high estimation, and that, notwithstanding that the Viceroy had ordered him to be Governor of Huanuco, he would do what Gonzalo Pizarro asked. But he asked for another letter informing him how and in what manner the people of Cuzco had received Pizarro as Justice and Procurator. Gonzalo Pizarro replied, and Puelles then deserted the cause of the Viceroy.

Francisco de Ampuero, the Secretary Pero Lopez, with the others who left Guamanga with the provisions, travelled on until they came to the bridge of Vilcas, where they found no one. They continued their journey and received news that Francisco de Almendras was not far distant. Going on as far as Lucumaes they had just crossed a small bridge when Almendras came upon them, accompanied by his escort. He haughtily enquired who carried the provisions. The answer was Pero Lopez. Then Almendras said he was minded to kill him, and throw his body down a deep ravine. They could make no resistance as Almendras had more than thirty men, with arquebuses, under his command. He spoke to Pero Lopez, asking why he had had the boldness and temerity to travel along such a difficult road as this was. Pero Lopez answered that the Viceroy had ordered him to come by that road with despatches, and by no means could he excuse himself from bringing them, with some other words. Almendras,

reflecting that Pero Lopez had done some good work in times past, determined not to kill him then, nor do more than ask for the despatches. Pero Lopez took them from his bosom, not without much reluctance, and they both mounted after having had some further conversation. Calling Francisco de Ampuero to him, Almendras said that he was very much surprised to see Ampuero coming with these things, from which no good was intended for Gonzalo Pizarro, and that if it was not for the love which he knew that Pizarro still felt for him, he would kill him there and then. He also asked him what was passing at Lima.

CHAPTER XLII

What more passed between Francisco de Almendras and those who were bringing the royal provisions.

AFTER what happened which I have described in the last chapter, the Captain Francisco de Almendras and his arquebusiers returned a day's journey towards Guamanga. Almendras reflected within himself that it would not be desirable to leave Pero Lopez alive, lest he should bear testimony to what had been done. He ordered the messenger to be killed, a shameful piece of cruelty. Finally he said that Pero Lopez and Simon de Alzate should travel alone so that the Andahuaylas natives or others, seeing that they were unprotected, might kill them. He ordered them to depart, but he kept Ampuero until Gonzalo Pizarro should come. Pero Lopez, quite understanding the intention of Almendras, said that his horse was so tired that he could not go on, asking to be allowed to rest for two or three days, and that then he would begin the return journey. Francisco de Ampuero said that Pero Lopez and Alzate

should not go without him, and that he would not remain unless by force. Almendras, in a great rage, said that if they remained for the night he would kill them, and with this he went into his tent. Ampuero, seeing the great danger in which Pero Lopez was, went to Almendras and, speaking affectionately, entreated him to let him go back. Almendras was very angry and menaced Pero Lopez with his words. Certainly it cannot be denied that Pero Lopez did notable service in this expedition, for his life was in great danger. He passed that night without any sleep whatever, fearing that he might be killed, telling Alzate and the others also to keep awake.

As Ampuero had so much friendship with the Pizarros he succeeded, in the morning, in persuading Almendras to let them all return. So they all went back together very joyfully, praising God for having delivered them out of the hands of Almendras. Soon after starting they met Diego Martin the clergyman, and with him the Father Provincial Friar Tomas de San Martin[1], who told them of the evil intentions of Gonzalo Pizarro and how he had appointed captains and was preparing to march against the Viceroy. This Provincial was the Regent who had gone from Lima to Cuzco, with a strong desire to induce Pizarro to abandon such a mad enterprise. He had not succeeded in his good attempt though, by all means, he strove to turn many principal adherents of Pizarro from continuing with him. He understood that one Juan de Ribas, a native of Zaragoza, had been hanged for taking messages to one and another, from the Regent.

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[1] The Father Provincial San Martin left Lima for Cuzco before the Bishop, though we are not told by Cieza de Leon when he set out or of the arrangements for his mission. It appears, from MS. letters, that San Martin was sent by the Viceroy to make certain proposals to Gonzalo Pizarro and, meanwhile, if possible to seduce his chief followers. Pizarro's detailed reply to the Viceroy was dated August 2, 1544. The conduct of San Martin fully accounts for the refusal to receive the Bishop or Pero Lopez.

CHAPTER XLIII

How Gonzalo Pizarro prepared to set out from Cuzco, and how he took the money that was in the royal treasury for the expenses of the war.

GONZALO PIZARRO rejoiced much when he saw the letter which, as they say, the Father Losa wrote from Guamanga. He also had news of the coming of the Bishop. He made great haste to complete his preparations for leaving the city, frequently reviewing the troops. Bachicao went about in a small litter because, in firing off a piece, he got a wound in the thigh. The citizens assisted with some money, to pay the soldiers who had arrived. Pizarro said that the money to pay the troops must be taken out of the royal treasury. The citizens looked upon such a step as indecent, and said that they preferred to guarantee their persons and goods to make the payments; because it was not right that the property of the King our Lord should be expended without his order. The citizens, therefore, made the payments, for notwithstanding that they wished to see the protest go forward and the laws revoked, few wished, at that time, to do a disservice to the King nor, with an armed hand, to disobey his commands, notwithstanding that all were on the point of making war. For the learned men of letters said that this might be done without incurring the crime of treason.

Some soldiers came from Condesuyos, with a citizen of Cuzco named Navarro and bringing a few arquebuses. There also arrived, at Cuzco, at that time, Felipe Gutierrez, while Serna fled to Arequipa with the intention of joining the Viceroy. At Arequipa he conversed with the Captain Alonso de Caceres, a valorous man who was Captain

General in the government of Cartagena, and held other honourable posts. Of this I am a good witness, for in the discovery of Urute I served under his banner. We passed through many hardships, suffering hunger and other miseries, as the readers will see in a book which I have commenced touching the events which occurred in the provinces bordering on the ocean sea. After we had served with Juan de Vadillo in the expedition he undertook, I passed into these provinces. Serna arrived at Arequipa and knew, from the Captain Alonso de Caceres, the evil intentions of Gonzalo Pizarro. They both agreed to take ship and proceed to Lima to join the Viceroy. This was swiftly done and, arriving at Lima, the Viceroy received them well. Meanwhile a youth named Martin de Vadillo[1] fled from Cuzco, but was hanged by Alonso de Toro.

As soon as everything was ready, Gonzalo Pizarro ordered the Captains Juan Velez de Guevara and Pedro Cermeño to Xaquixaguana. Alonso de Toro and Don Pedro Puertocarrero made some objection, but finally all the captains left Cuzco. Among them were Don Pedro Puertocarrero, Lope Martin, Juan Alonso Palomino, Tomas Vasquez. Gabriel de Rojas, Garcilasso de la Vega, and Jeronimo Castillas had excused themselves from going with Gonzalo Pizarro. The Licentiate Carvajal had to go against his will. From Xaquixaguana Pizarro ordered some captains to advance and form a camp at Lucumaes.

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[1] Herrera calls him Juan, and adds that he was a son of the Licentiate Vadillo who led the expedition from Uraba to Popayan, Dec. vii, Lib. viii, cap. iii.

CHAPTER XLIV

How the Bishop arrived at the place where Francisco de Almendras was encamped, what happened, and the letters which Pizarro wrote and which the Bishop answered.

AFTER the Bishop Don Jeronimo de Loaysa had been some days at Guamanga, he set out with the desire of reaching Cuzco before Gonzalo Pizarro had left that city. After several days' journey he met, in an Indian village called Cochacaxa, the Secretary Pero Lopez, Francisco de Ampuero, Simon de Alzate and the others who had gone to announce the royal provisions. He also found there the reverend Friar Tomas de San Martin, Provincial of the Dominicans, and a clergyman named Diego Martin. They all advised the Bishop to go no further, but to return to Lima, for that the affairs at Cuzco were ill directed and worse conducted. Besides that, Gonzalo Pizarro had stationed his captain Francisco de Almendras with no other object than to prevent the Bishop from passing. This was shown by a letter from the same Almendras in which he said that he was ordered to let no one pass.

Although there were many considerations in favour both of returning and of going forward, the Bishop determined to continue his journey, and he went on until he arrived at the place where Francisco de Almendras was stationed. That captain received him without that courtesy and civility which the prelate's dignity should have ensured him. Although the Bishop felt this he put it aside and had some discourses with Almendras. Next day he spoke more fully about his mission and how much he desired to go on to Cuzco, to give counsel to Gonzalo Pizarro on the course which it would be most proper for him to take. Upon this Almendras replied that on no account could he pass onwards. When the Bishop understood the position

of Almendras, and that his prayers to be allowed to pass were of no avail, he said that he took this contumacious conduct ill, and that Almendras fell into grave discommunion, in using his power with such violence. To this the rebel, with great pride and little fear of our Lord God, answered: "This is no time for discommunions. There is no God nor King but Gonzalo Pizarro." The Bishop then asked to be allowed to go on, quite alone, without any of his followers. But Francisco de Almendras was inexorable, in truth he was obeying Pizarro's orders. He said that he would take the Bishop's mule and that, if he went on he must do so on foot.

The Bishop then wrote to Gonzalo Pizarro, letting him know of the violent conduct of Almendras, and saying that the object of his journey to Cuzco was to secure the good and peace of the country so that, having rest and tranquillity, all should enjoy themselves. For this his counsel to Pizarro was that he should disband his troops. When this letter arrived Gonzalo Pizarro was already in the valley of Xaquixaguana. He answered the Bishop by telling him not to trouble himself about proceeding further, as he was about to march to Lima, and they might meet on the road. When, he continued, he heard, in Cuzco, of the Bishop's journey, he rejoiced, holding it for certain that it would be for the good of all. With a joyful mind he was waiting to do the Bishop all service. But some knights who were with him, as well as friars of white and even black habits, had since told him that under no circumstances should he receive the Bishop in Cuzco, for reasons that they would not mention. For it was not his affair alone, but that of all the others to whose will he must conform. With this letter there came another to Francisco de Almendras in which Gonzalo Pizarro instructed him, by art and dissimulation, to ascertain what the Bishop's own feelings were towards him.

After some further letters had passed between the Bishop and Pizarro, the Bishop dwelt on the service which Gonzalo and his brothers had done to the King, and urged him not to obscure and nullify them by coming with an armed force to act contrary to the King's will. To this Gonzalo Pizarro answered that he desired no disservice to the King, but to procure the liberty of the kingdom, for which object he would use all his power without swerving until that object was attained.

The Bishop then departed to Curamba on his return, and thence to Andahuaylas where Juan Alonso Palomino, with some soldiers, were stationed by Pizarro. In order not to hear the insolent gibes of the soldiers, the Bishop went on to Uramarca, where he remained until the 7th of September writing reports to the Viceroy of what had happened and what it was best to do. During the time that the Bishop was at Uramarca, he received several letters from Pizarro, all urging him to return to Lima.

CHAPTER XLV

How the Viceroy made preparations encouraging those who were with him in case Gonzalo Pizarro should come.

As the things that were passing at Cuzco were published and the news of the preparations of Pizarro became known, the Viceroy said to Diego de Urbina: "Captain, there can be no longer doubt. We must put on the leathern doublets and cloaks, and shoulder our pikes." Diego de Urbina replied that it was very good, and from that time he doffed his peaceful garb. He was appointed Master of the Camp. From boards of cedar they made long pikes. Metal was collected to manufacture arquebuses,

and the master gunner was expected to turn out four daily. As there was not sufficient metal, a bell which was placed in the principal church by the Marquis Pizarro, for divine worship, and had pleasantly rung ever since it was founded, was taken away and made into arquebuses. Oh miserable land! Great must have been thy sins, that such evils should befall thee. Prosperous and in great majesty in times of peace, it seems to me that thou now sailest in tempestuous seas, and cruel fortune turns foul and furious winds against thee, leaving thee in the high seas. Few of thy sons will escape without colouring the sea with their blood. Those who do escape will be left saddened, sombre, altered, thoughtful, and I see them walking deaf to all around. In Cuzco they are arming, in Lima they pull down the bell to make arms. In all the province they think of nothing but the search for arms and armour, that the time of trouble may come more quickly.

The Father Losa, who, as we have already said, left Lima with the Bishop, went as far as the bridge of Abancay, where Francisco de Almendras was stationed with the artillery. Thence he was allowed to go on to Pizarro's camp, and was well received by him and his captains. Pizarro said that he rejoiced much to see him and thanked him for the news he sent in his letters, asking him for the latest news from Lima, and for the intentions of Blasco Nuñez with regard to the ordinances. The clergyman Losa answered that Pizarro and his captains were all knights who ought, with valorous hearts, promptly to assert their liberties, considering well what honour they will lose if the ordinances are fully enforced, and what profit will be gained if they are revoked. Continuing his discourse Losa went on to say that for brave hearts, such as those of the men he saw before him, many reasons were not needed. Let them assemble as many men as possible, collecting all the arms, and expending all the gold in the land. The

Viceroy had not more than 300 men all armed, and few of them are his friends. This speech of the priest did no little harm, for many of those who were with Pizarro, their first anger having subsided, were beginning to regret that they had made him Procurator, saying one to another, "Where are we going? what do we want? are we to attack the King in arms?" and similar questions.

CHAPTER XLVI

How the Viceroy sent Hernando de Alvarado to Truxillo, Jeronimo de Villegas to Huanuco and the Treasurer to Arequipa, and what happened.

THE Viceroy was very active in assembling men and, although he had suspended the ordinances, he did not cease to talk about the duty of enforcing them. All sorts of intrigues and discourses passed in the city of Lima at that time. The Judges, talking one with another, thought they were lost while the Viceroy, with all the forces he could collect, would be carrying on the war with Gonzalo Pizarro.

The Viceroy notwithstanding the despatches he had sent to all the cities in the kingdom already, determined also to send persons in his confidence to the cities, to summon all citizens to join him with their arms and horses. He sent the Captain Hernando de Alvarado, brother of Alonso de Alvarado who had gone to Spain, to the city of Truxillo. He had offered his person and to bring men and arms. His statement may have been good in intention at the time, as he was a person much esteemed by his brother the Captain Alonso de Alvarado. But Hernando had heard the Viceroy declare that he would enforce the ordinances when the time was opportune, and this made him presently forget the offers he had made. If the

captains were thus cautious in their dealings with the unfortunate Viceroy, on whom could he rely? If those around him were disloyal to the King whose servant the Viceroy was, where was he to find help? Hernando de Alvarado did get together some men and arms, but he took the road to the mountains with them.

The Viceroy ordered the Treasurer Manuel de Espinal to go to the city of Arequipa, giving him powers to raise troops with the title of captain. When he arrived there was a meeting of the magistrates who refused to comply, saying that they were on bad terms with the Treasurer, and that they would do nothing for him nor receive him as captain. But they added that they would go to Lima to serve, of their own free wills. The Treasurer returned alone. After him came Francisco Noguerol de Ulloa, who was then Alcalde, and Hernando de Toro. Juan de Arvés and others went to the city of Leon which is in Huanuco, where Pedro de Puelles, a native of Seville, was in office, an astute leader in wars with the Indians, a good citizen, and with much experience in administration, having been lieutenant to the governor of Quito, besides other appointments. He had corresponded with Gonzalo Pizarro and knew his movements. He had also received letters from the Viceroy. He had also sent an officer to collect provisions along the road from Cuzco to Lima, for until then many were still neutral, not caring to declare themselves either friends of Pizarro or servants of the King. Pizarro's messenger had brought Puelles a most gracious letter with great promises. The Viceroy was anxious that help should come from those parts for the King. He sent Jeronimo de Villegas, a friend both of himself and of Pizarro, to proceed to Huanuco and tell Pedro de Puelles to come down to Lima with all the arms and horses he could collect for the service of the King our Lord. His loyalty had always been staunch, and the Viceroy could not doubt that it was

still and that he would comply with the order with all possible despatch. Villegas was glad of the opportunity of joining Pizarro, so that the Viceroy had sent good ambassadors. He was given his instructions and he gladly promised the Viceroy to lose no time, and that he would return with Pedro de Puelles and all the followers he could collect. So Villegas left Lima very joyfully to do quickly what he did do.

Arrived at the city of Leon, he spoke to Pedro de Puelles and to anyone else who liked to listen, doing all the harm he could to the cause of the Viceroy who he declared was severe and rigorous, and that he had come to take away the property of every man. He said that Pizarro had raised the cry of liberty. Pedro de Puelles was quite ready to take that line. He arranged to start with twenty armed men, including Villegas. This messenger had made known his intention before he left Lima to Gonzalo Diaz de Pineda, one of the Viceroy's captains, who was also looking out for a chance to join Pizarro, who was likely to prevail in the end. Juan de Sayavedra did not at once agree to what Pedro de Puelles said. He had given an evasive answer and remained at Huanuco. Rodrigo Tinoco, a native of Badajoz, Francisco de Espinosa a native of Campos, Garcia Hernandez of Salteras, Grado, and others up to the number stated, then departed with Pedro de Puelles and Villegas.

CHAPTER XLVII

How the Viceroy was informed of the departure of Puelles and Villegas, and what he did in consequence.

WE have already seen how the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela sent Jeronimo de Villegas to Huanuco to convey the despatch to Pedro de Puelles, ordering him to come with

as many Spaniards as he could collect, to serve his Majesty, and what else happened until they set out to join Gonzalo Pizarro. Don Antonio de Garay remained behind at Huanuco, of which place he was a citizen, and he wrote to tell the Viceroy what had happened. A servant of the Viceroy named Felix, who, by his master's order was making pikes in the valley of Xauxa, also sent the news.

When the news came to Lima and was reported to the Viceroy he showed much feeling, not ceasing to complain of the disloyalty of Puelles, and the treachery of Villegas, praying to our Lord to show his justice by not suffering them to go without punishment. He called the Judges and captains together for consultation, and heard them all in silence, for the sad news left little to say. The Viceroy, however, told them that he sent Villegas, trusting to his honesty, for he had always shown so loyal a disposition that he had no reason to suspect him. He further told them that Pedro de Puelles, being a governor and captain in the service of the King, had gone to join Gonzalo Pizarro. This grave offence and treason should be punished, and he asked the assembly what steps should be taken before the traitors had time to form a junction with Gonzalo Pizarro. He added that he sent Hernando de Alvarado to the city of Truxillo, having himself volunteered to gó, and his conduct is already known. He also sent the Treasurer of New Toledo to the city of Arequipa, but neither would they obey him. These things show how little loyalty there is in the land. If only those who were assembled in Lima were really loyal, they would suffice to chastise Gonzalo Pizarro and the traitors who had joined him. He meditated a march into the interior, not only to deal with Villegas and Puelles but also to rally his supporters and alarm the enemy.

The Judges and captains, assembled in council, after some debate, decided upon sending a force of arquebusiers

under the command of Captain Gonzalo Diaz de Pineda[1] to the bridge over the river that passes by Xauxa where, without doubt, they would intercept and kill the traitors. In order to make this enterprise more effectual, General Vela Nuñez was to go, with speed, as far as the river Xauxa. The Viceroy enjoined great diligence, so as to prevent the traitors from carrying out their evil intent. He reminded them that the King had sent him to administer justice and execute the laws, that he suspended the laws without the king's orders, and yet the country was in a disturbed state, only to be remedied by the punishment of those supporting such absurd demands as those made by Pizarro. In thus doing his duty the Viceroy said that he was obliged to put it before his wife Doña Brianda or his sons[2]. Vela Nuñez prayed him not to go further in that discourse, declaring that they would do all that was possible.

The Viceroy then called to Gonzalo Diaz and, after embracing him, urged him to be a good knight and captain, that the Viceroy's own brother went as his soldier, and that he must so conduct the enterprise as that the traitors who went to join Pizarro might be killed or taken. Gonzalo Diaz answered well, but his real desire was to reach a

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[1] Gonzalo Diaz de Pineda came with Belalcazar to the conquest of Quito. In 1536 he was sent to explore Quijos and Canelos, and his report led Gonzalo Pizarro to undertake his expedition. Pineda accompanied Pizarro, and went in search of Orellana. In 1544 he offered his services to the Viceroy, and went with Vela Nuñez to intercept Puelles with 35 mules, which cost 12,000 ducats. He turned traitor, tried to murder Vela Nuñez, and joined Gonzalo Pizarro. In 1545 Gonzalo Pizarro sent him to Piura to collect men, when the Viceroy suddenly arrived. Pineda was surprised and fled into the mountains, where he died of hunger.

[2] Doña Brianda de Acuña. The Viceroy left three sons in Spain, Antonio, Juan and Cristobal, the two eldest being pages of the Empress, with the habits of Santiago and Alcantara. Antonio died when appointed Ambassador to France. Juan de Acuña Vela was Captain-General of Artillery and on the Council of War. Cristobal was Bishop of Canary, afterwards of Burgos.

position whence he could most easily join Pizarro. He had told Villegas of his intention when they were both in Lima.

Departing from Lima they took the road of Huarochiri, and during the march Gonzalo Diaz, Juan de la Torre, Cristoval de Torres, Piedrahita, Alonso de Aviles and others consulted together when would be the best time to pass over to Pizarro. It may thus be seen what sort of loyalty was maintained by the captains in Peru.

CHAPTER XLVIII

How the Captain Garcilasso de la Vega and Graviel de Rojas, with others, fled on finding that the proceedings of Pizarro were not straight.

GONZALO PIZARRO had left the city of Cuzco with all his troops, and pitched his camp in the valley of Xaquixaguana. But several remained behind, including Graviel de Rojas and Garcilasso de la Vega, who had agreed to follow Gonzalo Pizarro but preferred to wait. After various conversations one with another, seeing how badly the movement was guided, and that Pizarro was not taking a straight course, they agreed to escape to Arequipa. They were Graviel de Rojas, the Captain Garcilasso de la Vega, Gomez de Rojas, Jeronimo Castilla, Soria, Manjarres, Pantoja Alonso Perez Esquivel with others, amounting to fourteen citizens and soldiers. They took the road to Arequipa whence they could easily go on to join and serve the Viceroy. They promptly and most loyally abandoned their homes for the King's service. Leaving Cuzco they travelled until they reached the city of Arequipa, when they were joined by Luis de Leon y Ramirez. They went on to the

seaport, fourteen leagues from Arequipa, in a valley of Indians called Quilca. Here they induced the Indians to provide some *balsas* to take them to Lima. They did not dare to travel by land from fear of Pizarro, and because the only routes were either by the coast deserts or the mountains, and the latter was the route which Gonzalo Pizarro was taking. Both roads were made by the ancient Kings of these provinces. To go by the mountains away from the road would have been to traverse an exceedingly frozen region, covered with snow which could, in no way, be avoided.

Three times they embarked in the *balsas*, but each time they were obliged to land again owing to the tempestuous weather. Finally they mounted their horses and travelled over the coast deserts, sending notice of their coming to the Viceroy.

Diego Centeno and Gaspar Rodriguez went to Xaquixaguana and informed Pizarro of the flight of Graviel de Rojas, Garcilasso and the others. He was much incensed, swearing that if he caught them he would put them to death. The news also caused much excitement in the camp, and it is even said that many who were there would rather have gone with Graviel de Rojas and Garcilasso de la Vega than remain with Pizarro.

CHAPTER XLIX

How Gonzalo Pizarro appointed Francisco de Carbajal to be Master of the Camp, how it was notified to him that Gaspar Rodriguez wanted to kill him and what else happened.

AFTER he had been encamped in the valley of Xaquixaguana for some days, Gonzalo Pizarro determined

to march onwards to Lima, and ordered the tents to be struck. They marched by the main road until they came to a place called Lucumaes. It was there that Pizarro, knowing how wise and skilful Francisco de Carbajal was, in all matters relating to war, determined to appoint him Master of the Camp. For truth to tell the Procurator did not feel much confidence in Alonso de Toro. For these reasons, after consulting his principal officers, he gave the post of Master of the Camp to the Captain Francisco de Carbajal.

At about this time Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo, Alonso de Mendoza, Alonso de Toro, Villacastin, Diego Centeno and the others who, as we have stated, sent Beltasar de Loaysa for their pardons from the Viceroy, began to exchange ideas by word of mouth or by the play of their countenances, in such a way that Pizarro got wind of what had been going on. They even affirm that it was intended to kill him, the author of the conspiracy being Gaspar Rodriguez. When Pizarro came to know it he was much disturbed and even frightened. At once, and without waiting, he sent for the Master of the Camp, Francisco de Carbajal, and gave him a detailed account of what he had heard, asking his opinion on so important a matter. After Carbajal had given himself a little time to think over the matter, he replied as follows. "Even before Blasco Nuñez arrived at Tierra Firme, when I understood that he intended to enforce the new laws, I knew that great troubles and disturbance would arise, which are the armouries from which civil wars are equipped. Foreseeing these things I tried by every means in my power to leave the country. I conjectured that there would be two extremes in the business, one allied to reason and the other to justice. The one allied to reason was that which would lead those in Peru to defend their property, while that allied to justice would

be the duty to obey the order of the King, as natural lord. I desired to take part neither with one extreme nor with the other. But I was unable to find a ship to take me away, either at the ports of Lima or Arequipa. This desire lasted until I found you to be my friend. But it must be understood that if the demand you bring leads to war, it will be a very cruel war, and its fury will extend over the whole kingdom, like a very contagious pestilence. For if there should be a battle in which the Viceroy is defeated, there can be no doubt that another will arrive from Spain, while if the insurgents are defeated they will have little chance of repairing their losses. There is, however, a way out of the difficulty. Let the Viceroy be sent to Spain while the Judges remain at their posts, all the past being condoned, and no one being deprived of his property. Afterwards affairs will be likely to progress more satisfactorily. Now, without considering these things, having taken the demand to my heart, I shall be faithful to the cause and to my comrades: as Lentulus said to Pompey—death makes an end of all evil. Touching the question of Gaspar Rodriguez I am of opinion that this is not a moment for severity. It will be best to use vigilance. Gaspar Rodriguez should be secretly watched until Pedro de Puelles arrives and further news about the Viceroy comes from Lima." When Pizarro had heard what Carbajal said, he told his friends to keep an eye on Gaspar Rodriguez, and to prevent him from escaping, which was done from that time.

At this time the events which took place in all parts were so numerous, that I find great difficulty in conveying a clear idea of the general course of history. The next occurrence was the arrival at the rebel camp of Pedro de Puelles, Villegas, and Gonzalo Diaz, one of the Viceroy's captains who had joined Puelles. It is necessary that the curious reader should remember what has gone before, and

in payment for the trouble I have taken in collecting the information and in writing, I expect that amount of attention; I am forced to take one thread and drop another, which I will do as methodically as I possibly can.

CHAPTER L

How Gonzalo Pizarro advanced very cautiously, and how there were some movements in Cuzco.

GONZALO PIZARRO advanced very cautiously and with much trepidation, notwithstanding the news he had received of the adherence of Pedro de Puelles. On all sides he seemed to be navigating a tempestuous sea. It is said that he had thoughts of taking flight back to Charcas and submitting privately to the Viceroy, for his mind, in the evil course he had taken, was no longer firm. The people round him saw this by his words, and even by the expression of his face, so that they did not all proceed willingly on the enterprise, feeling that it was a rash thing to attempt to treat with their King in arms, and it might well end in disaster. They also feared that the Viceroy might have gathered together a force sufficient not only to defend himself, but to exact summary vengeance. Though it was late, some of the citizens began to say—"this is a great piece of folly that we are committing, coming thus with such a demand. For although our enterprise may have some colour of justice, it must appear very ugly and bad to all. For Pizarro not only discourses of the new laws but also of affairs of government. If we advance to battle, for which there is no excuse, and we are defeated, few of us will remain alive, and all without our Indians and without hope of mercy.

And if Gonzalo Pizarro and we succeed, so many evils will spring up, that we shall be consumed in the wars." The soldiers did not cease to talk, looking upon themselves as ignorant in being moved by the citizens to make war against the King.

Gaspar Rodriguez could easily have killed Pizarro at this time, if he had entertained the idea, although Gonzalo Pizarro had been warned. Pedro de Hinojosa, captain of Pizarro's guard, continued to watch him. Talking to Alonso de Mendoza, Gaspar Rodriguez was advised to act, and Mendoza said that he would be the first to run his sword through Pizarro, though he might pay for his treason by his death. It is said that Gaspar Rodriguez, Alonso de Mendoza, and others went to the tent of Gonzalo Pizarro who was on his bed, but the bed clothes being aside they saw that he was armed and that he was not ignorant of the intentions of Gaspar Rodriguez. Affairs were in such a state in the camp that, if the news of the adherence of Pedro de Puelles had not arrived, the mutineers would have risen, and Pizarro would have been killed or a prisoner. Of this he felt assured, presently writing to the city of Cuzco that it might be known.

After the departure of Gonzalo Pizarro from Cuzco certain provisions appeared, sent by the Viceroy and to be obeyed by all, as well horse as foot, on pain of being declared traitors. Pizarro had intercepted most of them, but some got into the hands of a clergyman named Fortun Sanchez de Olave who, after waiting for some days, fastened them on the door of the church. Diego Maldonado, the King's Alcalde, who had been left at Cuzco by Pizarro to act as Justice in his place, had not approved of Pizarro's enterprise. He had made this quite clear from the time that he gave his vote at the meeting of the municipality. He was, therefore, anxious to serve the King, although

he had great fear of the Viceroy, because he had adhered to the Marquis Pizarro in the differences and debates with the Adelantado Diego de Almagro, and because they said that it was owing to him that Manco Inca rose in arms. He feared that for these reasons some harm would come to him, though he had always shown that, in the matter of the Inca, he was not culpable. But, uninfluenced by these considerations, with a ready and loyal mind for the service of the King, he announced that all who desired to go to Lima and serve the Viceroy were quite free to do so.

There was a scrivener in the city of Cuzco named Gomez de Chaves who was very cautious. They say that he spoke to a citizen named Alonso de Mesa, insisting that he should raise the banner of the King. Alonso de Mesa heard this very joyfully, because he thought that it would be sufficient to gain him favour, and some soldiers who were there promised to help. But the scheme came to nothing. Two soldiers, one named Rebdona, and the other Santa Cruz, who were at Cuzco, looking upon the suggestion as a thing actually done, said that they should take for their wives those of Alonso de Toro and Tomas Vasquez who had gone with Gonzalo Pizarro.

The friends of Gomez de Chaves affirm that he went to Diego de Maldonado to report what had passed, while Alonso de Mesa undertook to raise the flag in the great square, shouting "Long live the King." But things did not happen as was intended and he found himself on the point of losing his life. Rabdona and Santa Cruz were made prisoners, and Diego Maldonado sentenced them to be hanged. After this Maldonado, believing that the Viceroy was powerful, and that Gonzalo Pizarro would not be strong enough to prevent him from complying with the royal orders, and also because his desire was

no other, came out into the great square, saying in a loud voice "Long live the King, and I raise this banner for his service. I again give permission to all who desire to do so to go and serve the Viceroy."

CHAPTER LI

How the King Manco Inca, seeing the dissensions among the Spaniards, summoned all the armed men he could collect to march against Cuzco, and of his death.

THE cruel fire was breaking out in all directions and the Devil, enemy of the human race, rejoiced at the cruel war that was waged among the Spaniards, and at the cruelty with which fathers killed their sons and sons killed their own fathers, and that there was perturbation among them all. So he put the desire into the mind of the King Manco Inca to march against the city of Cuzco and destroy it, for it was reported to him that there were few Spaniards there, as most of them had gone to Lima with Gonzalo Pizarro. Prompted by the Devil, and without the knowledge of the Spaniards who were with him, the Inca sent some of his captains, with as large a force as they could muster, to advance towards Cuzco and kill all the Spaniards they could find, burning and destroying the villages. Thus they marched from the province of Viticos in the best order they could form, and arrived at the villages bordering on Cuzco. As soon as the news reached that city, Diego Maldonado ordered one of his servants to go and see if it was true, but when the man came to where the Inca's captains were, he was killed by them. They also killed the natives of the provinces. When it was certainly known in Cuzco that the news was true, there was great fear throughout the city. As Gonzalo Pizarro had taken all the horses, Diego Maldonado ordered all the mares to be

brought. There is no fortress for resisting the fury of the Indians equal to Spaniards on horseback. The Indians, robbing and desolating as they approached, came within six leagues of Cuzco, but they did not dare to advance, fearing the force of the Spaniards, their own bodies being unarmoured and unprotected. The captain Diego Maldonado ordered all the Spaniards, including the clergy, to muster in the great square on their mares, with their lances in their hands. He intended that this should show the Indians how ready and watchful the Spaniards were. He also ordered the Licentiate Antonio de la Gama to advance with some Spaniards to the bridge of the Apurimac to see whether the Indians were coming from that direction, and to resist any damage they came to do. The Licentiate de la Gama departed on this service.

At this time the King Manco Inca was in Viticos where he received reports from his captains. There were with him Diego Mendez, Francisco Barba, Gomez Perez, Cornejo and Monroy. They were followers of Almagro the lad, were at the battle of Chupas and, flying from the severity of Vaca de Castro, had taken refuge with the Indians. They were treated well by Manco Inca but were unable to escape, so there, with no little labour, they passed their time. When the news came to the King Manco Inca of what was passing in the kingdom, and how all the provinces were in revolt, the Spaniards were anxious to leave their cruel though voluntary banishment. The King Manco Inca, taking Diego Mendez aside, asked him to explain clearly and openly and without any reserve who was the great and powerful captain who had arrived at Lima, whether he was strong enough to defend himself against Gonzalo Pizarro, and whether he would remain as universal governor of the kingdom. The Spaniard answered that the captain referred to by the Inca came by order and in the name of the great and powerful King of Spain, from

which it may be believed that it will not only be very easy for him to defend himself against Pizarro, but that he would be able to punish the rebel and all his followers, and that he alone would be supreme throughout the kingdom.

I received this account of what happened from a priest named Ortun Sanchez, who, being in charge of Paulo Inca, brother of this Manco Inca, heard all the history. For as soon as the events happened, many Indians who were present came to relate them to Paulo Inca. These Indians said that Manco Inca spoke to Diego Mendez and his companions, asking them to go by a way so that their journey should be unknown to Gonzalo Pizarro or his captains, until they came to where the Viceroy was. They were then to obtain his grace for the Inca, so that no harm might reach him owing to past rebellion. The Spaniards replied that they would gladly undertake this mission. After some further discourse between the Inca and the Spaniards, some Indians who were present say that, after everything had been arranged, and the horses were saddled, there was a dispute with the Inca who ordered his people to kill the Spaniards. The Spaniards, who were valiant, did much execution among the Indians and one of them, Diego Perez, attacked the Inca, and gave him so many stabs with a dagger that he fell dead. This done the Spaniards wanted to mount and escape, but at that moment an Indian chief arrived with a large force, and all the Spaniards were killed with their horses[1]. The Indian forces sent to threaten Cuzco then returned to Viticos, and the Licentiate de Gama was informed of what had happened by some Indians he captured. He, therefore, returned to Cuzco.

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[1] The true story was told by one of the Inca's sons named Titu Cusi Yupanqui, who was an eye-witness. The story in the text is quite wrong. See page 164.

CHAPTER LII

What happened to the General Vela Nuñez and the danger he was in; and how Gonzalo Diaz and others passed over to Pizarro.

THE reader will remember that the Viceroy sent Vela Nuñez and the captain Gonzalo Diaz de Pineda to the bridge of Xauxa, to intercept and capture or kill Pedro de Puelles and Jeronimo de Villegas, with the others who set out from Huanuco to join Gonzalo Pizarro. Vela Nuñez travelled with the object of reaching the bridge of Xauxa in time, for by holding that position they could not escape. But that was not Pineda's wish. He wanted the party of Puelles to pass on before he arrived, and then to join Pizarro himself. His was a vile and treasonable act. The Viceroy's trust in him, his nomination as captain, and the noble character of Vela Nuñez who was his companion, should have made him refrain. But he was not himself destined to succeed in his plot, and soon we shall relate his miserable end, and how he paid for his treachery with his life. On their journey they came to a church in Huarochiri where, after prayers, Gonzalo Diaz intended to murder Vela Nuñez. The conspirator was in concert with Juan de la Torre, Cristoval de Torres, Piedrahita, Alonso de Avila, Jorge Griego. The murder was not consummated because Alonso de Barrionuevo, a native of Soria, a determined man who loyally served the King, would not part from Vela Nuñez. The same loyalty was shown by Sebastian de Coca, Hernan Vela and the others who intended to return to Lima, and not to join Pizarro. Gonzalo Diaz and the other disaffected officers continually discussed among themselves how they should kill Vela Nuñez, but as they could not find an opportunity in Huarochiri, it was not

done. They proceeded on their journey until they reached the snows of Pariacaca where they continued their schemes, seeking to murder the innocent and to desert to the tyrant.

Vela Nuñez was always surrounded by Barrionuevo and the other loyal knights. As they proceeded on their journey they met the Regent Friar Tomas de San Martin, the Secretary Pero Lopez and the others who were returning from their unsuccessful mission. They had encountered Pedro de Puelles and Jeronimo de Villegas in the valley of Xauxa, who were going with great speed to join Pizarro, and they had some conversation with them. When the Provincial heard that the General Vela Nuñez was going to attack Pedro de Puelles, he took him aside and told him that he should not go further, and that he should be careful of his person, because those who were with him had a plot to murder him. He had overheard words to this effect, spoken by Gonzalo Diaz. Besides, Pedro de Puelles had already passed the bridge of Xauxa. The General, much disturbed and in great trepidation, said to Gonzalo Diaz and the other officers that, as Pedro de Puelles had already passed Xauxa, there was no longer any use in marching against him. He intended, therefore, to turn back and rejoin the Viceroy. He there and then turned the bridle of his horse, though he knew that Gomez de Solis, with ten or twelve others, would go on to Xauxa to join Gonzalo Pizarro. With great speed and as much fear they returned to sleep at Huarochiri in great terror of treachery and lest any of their loyal friends should be murdered.

Gonzalo Diaz, arriving at Huarochiri late, after sunset, as one who brought intended crime with him, did not see his way to accomplishing the treason with the others who had conceived it. So they assumed a careless appearance, saying they were much fatigued by the road. Vela Nuñez

with his friends went back to Lima with all speed. Gonzalo Diaz and his accomplices spoke to the rest of the men who were there, advising them to go with them to join Pizarro, as he would treat them well, while the Viceroy was cruel and wanted to take away all their properties. Several, having heard his discourse, replied that they wished to serve the Viceroy, and not to go with him and lose their lives. When Gonzalo Diaz heard this he was annoyed, and agreed with his friends to disarm those who would not go, and to take away their horses. This they did, and in this condition, disarmed and on foot, Rivadeneira, Sebastian de Coca, Rodrigo Niño and others had to return to Lima. Gonzalo Diaz and his friends took the road to Guamanga. They entered that city and at first there was some disturbance, Pedro de Puelles thinking they had come from Lima against him, but when the truth was known they all rejoiced, saying one to another that Pizarro would certainly be Governor, and from that time they would give him the title of lordship. They ordered Cristoval de Torres to go with all this news to Gonzalo Pizarro, who had then arrived near the valley of Andahuaylas, and he rejoiced to know that Gonzalo Diaz was in Guamanga.

CHAPTER LIII

How the Viceroy, on receiving the news that Gonzalo Diaz had deserted, was much enraged, and what else happened.

WE have related how Vela Nuñez returned from the snowy mountains of Pariacaca in great consternation owing to the monstrous treason of Gonzalo Diaz, fearing that the traitor might overtake him and murder him. Having

descended into the valley of Lima he reflected much within himself, concluding that the evils which were coming on the land, by reason of the wars, could not be slight. Certainly he would desire that the Viceroy could check the disturbances arising in all parts, from the time that he arrived in Peru, and even after the suspension of the ordinances. On the other hand the evil character of the people, and their bad faith, showed that, even if the ordinances had been suspended from the beginning, the disloyal movements would not have ceased, for so rich and prosperous a land could not remain at peace. These things and others Vela Nuñez said to me in the city of Cali, when I wished to inform myself respecting these events. So Vela Nuñez arrived at Lima in the night, and gave the Viceroy a detailed account of what had happened, including the great treason of Gonzalo Diaz, and how ill he had requited the honour the Viceroy had shown him.

The Viceroy was deeply moved and his countenance could not conceal the deep sorrow which filled his heart. He said—"This land is the Devil! Great are the evils which surround it! Never are those who live in it at peace one with another! If I had not seen it, I could not believe that without reason, without the fear of God, without truth, without shame they could thus abandon loyalty to their king! In whom can I put trust. Not in those I chose as captains, and to whom I showed so much honour. For they deny me and cease to be loyal, preferring to live as traitors." Saying this he went about, trying to show that he was not disturbed by the desertion of Gonzalo Diaz, for he said that it was better to have traitors outside the city than inside.

Great was the excitement in the city of Lima when the flight of Gonzalo Diaz de Pineda was known. Though some felt regret, others rejoiced exceedingly, both citizens and soldiers, because it brought the time nearer when

Gonzalo Pizarro would enter with his banners. They talked one with another, and showed their delight by their words, saying "Now Pizarro comes. This time he will be Governor, and we shall have no Judges, and no rules about our Indians, nor ordinances, and Blasco Nuñez Vela will go back to Spain."

The Viceroy, after having been fully informed by his brother the general, called an assembly of the Judges, captains, and principal citizens, and as soon as they were all present, he said to them, "It seems to me that Vela Nuñez has fortunately escaped. What think you of the treachery of Gonzalo Diaz? Yesterday I sent letters to the principal men of Cuzco who come as fugitives by way of Arequipa and will be here shortly. I believe that there is want of agreement in the camp of Pizarro, many regretting the course they have taken and desiring pardon. But when those traitors approach we must show no want of firmness. It is important that we all should animate the soldiers, remembering also that with the captains lies the greater force in war. Do not be too much depressed by the bad news. God our Lord often puts his hand in favour of causes that appear lost, and they are won." The Viceroy having said these words to the assembly and made another speech to the captains, they all replied that they would carry out his orders.

It had been arranged that Diego Alvarez de Cueto, with a light body of horse, should go as far as Chincha on the coast, to meet Garcilasso de la Vega, Graviel de Rojas, and the others who were coming as fugitives from Cuzco. Although Captain Cueto got ready to start he did not go, having been ordered to remain for fear of desertions.

Soon afterwards there was a general review of the troops. The infantry mustered more than 500. Jeronimo de la Serna received the appointment of captain of the company of Gonzalo Diaz. This was a great grievance to

Manuel de Estacio, ensign of that company, who had brought the banner to the great square. He said, now that Gonzalo Diaz was a traitor to his King in spite of the loyalty he owed to the Viceroy, he was the person entitled to succeed to the vacancy, for his services were not so small that he did not merit promotion. In a great rage he tore the banner, saying that the flag of a traitor had no place in a loyal camp. It was black with a red cross. So it was torn, and Gonzalo Diaz was declared a traitor publicly with the reason, and naming his parents and place of birth. The Viceroy said to Manuel de Estacio that he should not be aggrieved at Serna having been appointed captain, as he had enlisted more men; but Estacio still felt injured.

In the house of Illan Suarez de Carbajal there were many secret proceedings. One of his slaves had been sent with letters to the Licentiate Benito Suarez de Carbajal. But in sending the letters he did little contrary to his duty to the King our Lord, for after the death of the Licentiate Carbajal, I saw the letter in the city of Cuzco. It contained nothing but exhortations to the Licentiate to leave the company of Gonzalo Pizarro, and come to join the Viceroy and serve him.

LETTER

OF

FRIAR JUAN SOLANO, BISHOP OF CUZCO[1]

TO

THE KING

LIMA, *March* 10*th*, 1545.

I ARRIVED in this kingdom, province of Peru, without waiting for the bulls, as your Majesty ordered, for by the provisions in my possession your Majesty orders me to occupy myself with the good treatment and conversion of the Indians, and in teaching them our holy catholic faith, bringing those who are warlike into the paths of peace. With this end and object I ventured to accept this office. It appears to me that I shall have great opportunities of usefulness, if the unsettled state of the land gives me a chance. As a servant of your Majesty I am bound to tell your Majesty the truth, without affection or passion, touching all that has been passing, and that I have seen in this land, from my landing until I reached the city of Lima, that your Majesty may apply the remedy that is needed, for the necessity is great.

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[1] Friar Juan Solano, born 1507, a Dominican monk, was a native of Archidona and belonged to the monastery of San Estevan at Seville. On March 1, 1543, the King made him Bishop of Cuzco, to succeed Valverde. He did not reach Cuzco until Nov. 3, 1545. He placed the first stone of the cathedral on March 13, 1560, and created the parishes of San Cristoval, San Sebastian, San Blas, and Santa Ana.

He signed the agreement to appoint Gonzalo Pizarro Governor of Peru when in Lima. He went over to the other side and accompanied Diego Centeno to Huarina; but escaped from the battlefield or Carbajal would certainly have hung him. Carbajal did hang his brother Jimenes. He joined Gasca at Xauxa. He was at Sacsahuana and then resided at Cuzco. He returned to Spain and went to Rome, where he lived for many years in the convent of La Minerva, and died on Jan. 14, 1580, aged 76.

I landed at Tumbez, which is a port in this land of Peru, 200 leagues from this city of Lima, arriving the last of the officials of your Majesty for I met with many hindrances, especially in the South Sea. As I came last, I had occasion to see all that had taken place along the road. As the Viceroy is such a zealous and fervent servant of your Majesty, as soon as he jumped on shore in this port of Tumbez, he put in force the ordinances and new laws which your Majesty gave for these kingdoms. Presently he gave freedom to all the Indians held to service by the Spaniards in Tumbez, telling them that, being free, they could go where they chose and act for themselves freely and according to their wishes. As regards all other provisions in the ordinances, the Viceroy went on executing them in accordance with your Majesty's orders. With this liberty given to the Indians, I saw that those who had been taught our holy catholic faith and knew it, and were baptized Christians, having returned to their chiefs and their homes as before, also went back to their old rites and customs. Of this all the land is a witness. I also saw that in the houses of Christians and in the *tambos* on the roads, where the Christian doctrine used to be taught every night, now there is no such custom because there is no one to teach, all having gone to their chiefs and their homes.

I arrived at the city of San Miguel, and I saw that in the church, where there used to be 40 little Indian boys serving and learning the things pertaining to the divine services, there did not remain more than two. All the rest had gone with their parents to the old homes, to live under their old laws and in blindness. I saw the same thing all the way to the city of Lima. I could only weep to see the Christians returning to be Infidels. For I know it is your Majesty's wish that the Indians should become Christians and be taught the holy catholic faith, and not that they should abandon it. The reception their chiefs

gave them was to sacrifice them because they were Christians and had served Christians. This was publicly stated on the roads. I am myself a witness as regards one chief, for I scolded him and he confessed that he had sacrificed a woman, and seeing this I could not but feel it much. For to have the Indians subject to our holy catholic faith, and gentle and domestic as regards our evangel and Christianity is not to deprive them of liberty, but rather to give them that liberty that *Christus liberavit nos* not to make them slaves. They should be treated *non sicut servi sub lege sed sicut liberi sub gratia constituti.*

In the cities of San Miguel and Truxillo I saw the citizens much disturbed and rebellious, for they protested against the ordinances and laws, and their petitions were not agreed to; indeed they complained that the Viceroy had replied very harshly with menaces of their lives.

When I arrived at Lima my sorrow increased to find that all the labours of the past had only brought trouble all over the country and no peace. The Viceroy, on landing, at once began to enforce the laws and ordinances, refusing to concede anything to the supplications. The consequence was that the whole country rose when he reached Lima, where they received him very unwillingly. When the news came to Cuzco that he would consider no supplication, the people rose against the person of the Viceroy, and took up arms, saying that they would come to protest against the new laws, and they chose Gonzalo Pizarro for their captain. The Viceroy, knowing this, began to collect troops. When I arrived I saw that the troops were disorderly. Presently the Viceroy ordered 150,000 *castellanos,* which Vaca de Castro had on board ship for despatch to your Majesty, to be landed. He spent it all on his troops for hosen, doublets and other clothes. But though he paid them well, he did not gain the good will of fifty, as was seen afterwards. When the three

Judges arrived, who had been left at Panama, they considered it advisable to suspend the new laws so as to quiet and pacify the land. But this did no good. It was too late. The people said that it should have been done before.

The people had no confidence whatever in the Viceroy, for he publicly talked of them as traitors and rebels, saying that when the country was at peace he would hang them by sixties and sixties until there was not a head left in the land. Hearing this, they were all afraid that he would do as he said, enforcing the new laws without listening to any supplication. In this your Majesty may believe that the fault was in the Viceroy, for he knew not how to keep anything secret in his heart, and he said publicly all that came into his head. What he thought at night he said in the daytime, and this was the cause of his fall. For these reasons the people of Cuzco prayed that the Judges of your Majesty's Court would remain, and that the Viceroy would go to report to your Majesty.

Things being in this state it happened that in the night of Sunday, September 14th, about 17 to 20 men on horseback left Lima to join the rebels at Cuzco, for the hearts and best wishes of all were with them, and every day some men went to join them. Among others two relations of the Factor Illan[1] Suarez went, and some men who lodged in his house[2]. Whether the Factor knew of this or not,

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[1] Guillan.

[2] As many as 25 mounted men deserted the Viceroy and rode out of Lima in the night. These were Baltasar de Castilla*, Lorenzo

* Sebastian and Baltasar de Castilla were the brother and son of the Conde de Gomera. The family was closely connected with the Canary Islands by the marriage of Don Diego Ayala y Herrera with Inez, daughter and princess of Fernan Perasa, Lord of the Canary Islands. Their grandson Guillen Perasa de Ayala was created Count of Gomera by Charles V. He married Maria de Castilla and these younger sons used the surname of Castilla. Sebastian, the youngest, was the murderer of Hinojosa and was soon afterwards murdered, in his turn, by his own men. Baltasar joined the Almagro party, after the assassination of Pizarro, and was on that side at the battle of Chupas, Sept. 15,

there is no one who knows. When they went there was a call to arms at midnight, and as soon as the Viceroy was told who it was that had gone, he sent for the Factor and asked him whether this treason appeared good to him. The Factor answered that he was a servant of the King and not a traitor. This was told to me by a clergyman who was there all the time. The Viceroy was going to reply when the Factor again said that he was as good a servant of his Majesty as the Viceroy. When the Viceroy heard those words he was enraged. Then he, or his servants by his order, killed him there without confession, nor taking his statement nor anything else whatever. They wrapped the body in a mantle, and ordered some soldiers to take it away for burial, which was done. Great was the sorrow and amazement of the people when it became known. All were plunged in grief. On the Monday the 15th the Viceroy ordered the children of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro to be put on board a ship; and on Tuesday the 16th he talked of embarking the Judges and all the women, with what object I do not

Sunday, Sept. 4, 1544.

Sept. 15, 1544.

Mexia, Rodrigo de Salazar el Corcovedo, Francisco de Escobedo, Francisco de Carbajal, Pedro Martin de Sicilia (or de Don Benito), and Diego and Jeronimo de Carbajal, nephews of the Factor. Salazar was the man who had apprehended the younger Almagro at Cuzco. They seized some papers in charge of the priest Loaysa, whom they overtook. These letters made it clear that there was correspondence with the Viceroy and treachery in the camp of Gonzalo Pizarro. It was thought necessary to make examples of the traitors. Gaspar de Rojas, Felipe Gutierrez, and a Galician named Arias de Maldonado were at Guamanga. Pedro de Puelles, by Gonzalo's order, arrested and beheaded them. Gaspar Rodriguez de Camporedondo was a double-dyed traitor. He was in Gonzalo's camp at the head of 200 pikemen. Carbajal arrested him and he was beheaded without delay.

1542. With Gonzalo at Añaquito, and sent with Hinojosa to Panama. A captain of infantry at Sacsahuana, April 9, 1548. Received the *repartimiento* of Parinocochas. He gave the supper at Cuzco when his niece married Alonso de Loaysa, Nov. 13, 1553. Giron broke in and killed one or two of the supper party. He put Castilla to death for trying to escape to Lima. Castilla was a chief citizen of Cuzco, and there are descendants.

know[1]. He also said that he would sack the town on that day, at least that was the report, but I do not believe it. Yet all the people began to hide their valuables and bury their treasure.

In the morning of Wednesday the 17th of September the city was in a great state of commotion, and the people took up arms. The Judges came with some followers[2], though not many. They ordered a banner to be displayed, and caused it to be proclaimed that all should be on the side of his Majesty and his Royal Court of Justice. They came to the great square with this proclamation, and marched towards the troops of the Viceroy who were in front of his house. As the Judges approached, the Viceroy's troops fired their arquebuses in the air, threw up their pikes and all went over to the side of the Judges. The people then entered the Viceroy's house and arrested him without anyone being killed or wounded, or a drop of blood shed. It was all done so quietly that it appeared to me as if it had been arranged beforehand. It was either a miracle or I cannot understand it. It is beyond me that a Viceroy, having so many troops, should have been arrested and no one hurt. He was delivered to the Judges who sent him as a prisoner to the house of one of them, and thence he was taken to an island[3] near the port, until they could send him in a ship to Spain as a prisoner. Sept. 17.

I believe that, if there had been resistance, they would have killed the Viceroy, there would have been many

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[1] His mad resolution was to sack Lima and retreat to Truxillo, sending all the women and children by sea and the men by land.

[2] The Viceroy had assembled 400 men to defend his house. The Judges were frightened and shut themselves up in the lodgings of Cepeda. Then one Francisco de Escobar said, "Gentlemen, let us come out and die fighting like men, rather than shut ourselves up like chickens." So they came out and, marching to the square, were joined by many citizens as they went. Then things fell out as the Bishop describes.

[3] San Lorenzo.

deaths, and the country would have been in great danger. The course taken by the Judges, therefore, appears to have been the best and to have averted worse evils. I know not. They will give an account of their proceedings to your Majesty. What I have been able to learn, and what I have seen is that the Viceroy was very unpopular with the people of this land, and that they would rather see him torn to pieces than be governed by him. All the fault lies with the Viceroy, for he knew not the art of governing. If he had entered this land dissimulating, and judging of the good and the bad in it until he reached Lima, he would have been received by the whole land, would have placed his own justices and officials, and would have dominated the country. Then he could have done what he liked, and could have enforced the new laws to the letter, without anyone attempting to thwart him. But he did not wish to receive any advice from the officials and servants of your Majesty. The only advice the Viceroy listened to, came from those of Chile[1], opponents of Gonzalo Pizarro, men he brought from Panama, whither they had been banished by Vaca de Castro. Thus he boldly entered the country, ordering and talking, and it seems to me that all went wrong because he did not listen to the advice of your Majesty's servants.

Also I will not omit to say another truth to your Majesty. All that Blasco Nuñez Vela has done, he has done with the greatest love and devotion, and with zeal to serve your Majesty, and he has not failed in a single point in your Majesty's service, and in the desire to execute all that your Majesty has ordered.

The commander appointed by the Viceroy burnt two ships, and sunk another. With the rest he made sail with the brother and brother-in-law of the Viceroy, and with

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[1] Party of Almagro.

Vaca de Castro, who had for many days been a prisoner on board, I know not for what reason. They went to a port 18 leagues distant[1]. There they put the Viceroy on board, in charge of the Licentiäte Alvarez, one of the Judges, who was to take him to Spain under arrest. But on the voyage the two made friends, concerted together, and landed at Tumbez. The Viceroy fled thence, by land, to the city of Quito.

On the 24th of October Gonzalo Pizarro entered the city of Lima. Three days previously his captains had arrived, with the Procurators of all the cities. They and the captains demanded of the Royal Judges that they should appoint Gonzalo Pizarro to be Governor and Captain-General of all these kingdoms until his Majesty should order otherwise. The Judges did this, and it appeared to the servants of your Majesty that this would be in furtherance of your Majesty's service, and pleasing to God[2].

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[1] Huacho.

[2] As the army of Gonzalo Pizarro approached the Judges became more and more alarmed. They sent an embassy to him, consisting of the Accountant Agustin de Zarate and a prominent citizen named Antonio de Ribera. They found Gonzalo at Xauxa. Ribera was allowed to proceed but Zarate was arrested, and was kept a prisoner for ten days in the bitter cold of the heights of Pariacaca until Gonzalo's forces came there on the way to Lima. Antonio de Ribera was a sort of brother-in-law of Gonzalo, as he had married the widow of his half brother Francisco Martin de Alcantara. Gonzalo's answer to the Judges was that it was for the common good that he should be Governor and if that was granted he would comply with what the Judges asked. If not he would enter by force. Those who had left Cuzco to join the Viceroy were hiding in different houses. Others fled into the montaña. When Gonzalo Pizarro was within a league of Lima, he sent Carbajal in advance with 30 arquebusiers, who seized 28 of the fugitives, among them Gabriel de Rojas, Garcilasso de la Vega who escaped and hid in the Dominican Convent, Melchor Verdugo, the Licentiate Carbajal, Pedro del Barco, Martin de Florencia, Alonso de Caceres, Pedro de Manjarves, Luis de Leon, Anton Ruiz de Guevara. Carbajal locked them up in the prison and took the key. The Judges did not interfere. All their troops had gone over to Gonzalo Pizarro. The Judges were then asked to proclaim Pizarro as Governor. They said they had not the power. Upon which Carbajal took three of the prisoners and hanged them on a tree outside the town. These were Pedro del Barco, Martin de Florencia, and Juan de Saavedra. Carbajal was so witty and

Now it is positively stated that the Viceroy is in the neighbourhood of Quito with 200 men to march against this city, and that he has taken your Majesty's rents in the neighbouring districts, to pay his troops. I fear that this is so.

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amusing during the executions that they must have found it quite a pleasure to be hanged by him. Luis de Leon was begged off by his brother, who was one of Carbajal's soldiers. Carbajal told the Judges that unless they signed the document at once recognizing Gonzalo Pizarro as Governor, he would hang all the rest and sack the town. The Judges saw that the Camp Master was in earnest. The document was signed, and Gonzalo Pizarro entered Lima as Governor of Peru, promising that there should be no more executions. Bachicao led the vanguard with the artillery, then 200 pikemen followed by 150 arquebusiers led by Guevara and 200 under Pedro Cermeño. Next rode Gonzalo Pizarro himself in a coat of mail covered by a brocade surtout. Behind him were three captains abreast, Puerto Carrero with the standard of Castille, Antonio Altamirano with the standard of Cuzco, Pedro de Puelles with the standard of Pizarro's arms. Then followed the cavalry. In this order the procession went to the house of the Licentiate Zarate where the Judges were assembled. Pizarro received their submission and then went to the municipal buildings where the assembled Magistrates received him with great ceremony. Pizarro then took possession of his brother's house, lately occupied by the Viceroy, and the troops were taken to their quarters. This took place in the end of October, 1544, forty days after the arrest of the Viceroy. Gonzalo only occupied himself with military matters, the Judges exercising their authority as a Court of Justice, with sittings in the house of the Treasurer Riquelme. Alonso de Toro was sent to Cuzco, Pedro de Fuentes to Arequipa, Francisco de Almendras to Chuquisaca as Lieutenants of the Governor. There was one more execution of an opponent who talked too much, one Diego Gumiel.

Escape of Garcilasso de la Vega.

Carbajal did not succeed in arresting Garcilasso de la Vega, who fled from Cuzco. When the Camp Master knocked at his door that night, it was opened by a soldier named Hernando Perez Tablero, a native of Almendral in the dukedom of Feria, and foster-brother of Alonso de Vargas the brother of Garcilasso de la Vega. He was an old servant of the family. As soon as he saw the dreaded Camp Master he ran to Garcilasso and warned him. The knight got out by a back way and escaped into the convent of Santo Domingo. He was received by the monks and concealed in a vault, where he remained for more than four months. Old Carbajal searched for him several times in the convent until, through the intercession of friends, he was at last pardoned. But Gonzalo Pizarro always kept him a prisoner, living in Gonzalo's tent and never being allowed to go out of his sight, until Sacsahuana. So that he was unwillingly at the battle of Huarina.

Your Majesty will be able to see how great are the evils in this land, and will continue until your Majesty orders a remedy which will bring us peace. Your Majesty may also see to the way in which the rents and the gold of your Majesty are spent, and the great sorrow it is to see the natives who remain, destroyed, lost, and dead, to the very great weight on our consciences. Those who suffer most, as it seems to me, are your Majesty and the natives. I, therefore, entreat your Majesty, for the love of Jesus Christ, that you will have pity on them, and send peace without delay, for all is in your Majesty's hands, and the necessity is urgent in the extreme. Do not permit this land to be lost, and the natives to be destroyed, for now they are beginning to understand our laws and to avail themselves of the things appertaining to our holy catholic faith. With these troubles and wars all is dropped and lost. Your Majesty should feel sorrow for them, because it is a very heavy load on the conscience to leave them to perish. With peace and rest in the land very great results would be seen in very few years, and their conversion will be a very great service to your Majesty because they are all inclined to be Christians.

I have also ascertained that the citizens of Lima have taken $25,000 from your Majesty's treasury, and the citizens of Cuzco $12,000 for the expenses of the war. When I knew this, I spoke to Gonzalo Pizarro on the subject of having taken the treasure of your Majesty. He said that those who took it had given acknowledgments and receipts, and had mortgaged their persons and goods, that they were substantial men whose estates are worth over $200,000 and that your Majesty would not lose a *blanca*. All the others said the same, that your Majesty's interests were safe.

I am also informed that the Judges, by a royal decree, have ordered Gonzalo Pizarro to march north and drive

the Viceroy out of the country, that he may not continue devastating and destroying, but go to give an account to your Majesty. All the troops are got ready to march with him and all are starting. Gonzalo Pizarro has a great power, and I fear that all are hostile to the Viceroy, while Pizarro has not taken upon himself to defend the Viceroy that he may not be killed. By these feuds the country is lost and destroyed, and the natives perish. I entreat your Majesty to look upon it with eyes of pity, as the Prince, Lord, and Father of all this land.

What I see and what I hear is that all are well with Gonzalo Pizarro, that he is friends with all classes, and that all desire his rule. All too desire mercy from your Majesty, and to serve your Majesty transmitting much treasure, and paying all that the Viceroy spent, and this is what is most desired in this land. Otherwise the country is in very great doubt and danger. This is truth concerning all that is passing here, and anything further will be told by the father who takes this, and who can give your Majesty full information.

I have written to your Majesty because if I did not send a full account of all that has passed, I should be left with a heavy load on my conscience, and should not be doing my duty to your Majesty.

I have sent this father, who is a person of credit and a provincial vicar in this land of Peru, a very religious man of good fame. To him I refer your Majesty for all further particulars.

I again entreat your Majesty, for the love of Jesus Christ, to send us peace, and not to allow these natives to receive such evil treatment, which is a very great load on the conscience. For they were on the point of becoming Christians, but these disturbances have caused everything to be dropped. With peace all would be remedied, and so I hope in our Lord.

May the Lord guard the imperial person of your Majesty, with increase to your kingdoms and lordships, as is desired by your servants and vassals. From this city of the Kings, the 10th of March 1545. Your devoted servant and chaplain who kisses your imperial feet and hands, Fray Juan Solano.

INDICTMENT
OF THE
JUDGES AGAINST THE VICEROY BLASCO NUNEZ VELA

REPORT made by order of the Judges Cepeda, Tejada and Alvarez on the proceedings of the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela, 19—23 Sept. 1544.

Embargo on precious metals at Panama.

1. As soon as the Viceroy arrived at Nombre de Dios and Panama, he put an embargo on all the gold and silver coming from Peru, on the ground that it had been taken from the Indians, and respecting this he made public proclamation with heavy penalties. Owing to this many were forced to return to Lima, following the Viceroy, having to expend considerable sums on the voyage. This scandalized the country and disturbed men's minds.

Native servants on the isthmus sent back to Peru.

2. Many natives of Peru, men and women, who were in the service of various citizens of Nombre de Dios and Panama, were collected by him and sent back to their native places at the expense of their masters. Some died on the voyage, others were put on shore at Tumbez and died of hunger, others returned to their idolatry.

Judges left behind.

3. On leaving Panama, he would not take with him the Judges Cepeda, Alvarez, Zarate, Tejada who had come with him from Spain, though they were ready, and there was room in the ship.

Judges arrive at Tumbez.

4. This cost Cepeda and Tejada $3000 in hiring a ship in which they embarked and sailed a few days after the Viceroy, arriving at Tumbez some days after him.

Viceroy would not wait for the Judges.

5. He would not wait for them at Tumbez, before entering the country, acting absolutely without counsel, before he had been officially received.

Acted alone instead of jointly with the Judges.

6. He entered alone to enforce the ordinances, it being his duty to act jointly with the Judges, and thus threw everything into confusion.

Release of all Indians at Tumbez.

7. In Tumbez he turned all Spaniards out of the place, deprived them of the Indians who were in service there, ordered all the native chiefs of the district not to give food to any Spaniard, whether resident or travelling, which had been the custom since the conquest.

Released all Indians at the *tambos*: not to supply food without payment.

8. He did the same at all the other *tambos* as far as Lima leaving the road desert, without men or food. Hence there was hunger, sickness and deaths on the road. The passengers found no support, were generally scandalized and cursed the Viceroy.

Showing the ordinances to everyone.

9. He wanted to show, even to the commonest people, the ordinances and provisions he brought with him, and he swore that he would put them in effect and enforce them even before he was officially received. In Tumbez he took away the Indians from Cabrera (Don Pedro Luis de ?).

Violent conduct at Tumbez.

Violent conduct at San Miguel and Truxillo.

10. From all the citizens of San Miguel and Truxillo and from all the soldiers he took the Indians for service. Especially he left Pedro de los Rios of San Miguel, son of the former governor of Nicaragua and Panama, with none, and one Cordova, a highly qualified person.

Violence at Truxillo.

11. In Truxillo he took away the Indians from Diego de Mora and from Garcia Holguin, one of the veteran conquerors who was 80 years of age and who had nothing else, a proceeding which shocked the whole country.

12. The provisions which the Indians used to supply for nothing were ordered to be paid for, a measure which troubled all travellers. Provisions at *tambos* to be paid for.

13. In San Miguel and Truxillo, far from consenting to receive supplications about the new laws, he used injurious words to monks and others who brought them, telling one he would cut out his tongue, and another that he would hang him, which was the cause that many went to join the rebels in Cuzco. Violent threats.

14. By not suspending ordinance 3 or 4, your Majesty lost a million of gold with which they would have done service, but afterwards these and other ordinances were suspended by public proclamation. Loss to the revenue.

15. Lorenzo de Aldana, a principal citizen of Guamanga, had written two or three letters with news, and came to offer himself. The Viceroy put him on board a ship, and kept him a prisoner there for many days. This caused general scandal. He was suspicious of everyone, and threatened some with death. The worst of it was that he published his suspicions, thus incurring the hatred of all, so that a great number went to Cuzco, to join those who were marching against him. Treatment of Aldana. Violent threats made publicly.

16. The hatred against him was increased by his threats to kill the Judges and many others, especially Martin de Robles, to whom the Viceroy himself had given the command of 130 soldiers, and he would have done it, if his brother Vela Nuñez had not interfered. Threats to kill the Judges and Martin de Robles.

17. He wanted to kill Diego de Urbina, the Master of his Camp, Lorenzo Mexia, and the Mayor-domo of Maria de Escobar. Threats to kill several others.

18. He ordered Antonio Solar, the Mayor-domo or Overseer of Lima, to be hanged because he did not wish to send a Portuguese to his Indians, and said that the valuations would cause a rebellion. He ordered Solar to be hanged, and though he desisted owing to the prayers Treatment of Solar.

of many people, he was kept for 3 months in the public prison.

Order for a ship-master to be hanged.

19. He ordered Baltazar Rodriguez, Master of a ship to be hanged, without trial and without consulting the Judges, for having taken his ship from the port of Arequipa to that of Lima without permission, and this was only stopped at the last moment.

More threats.

20. He wanted to kill Don Baltasar de Castilla, son of the Count of Gomera, who came to offer his services, and the same with Gaspar Mexia and others, who for that reason fled to Cuzco.

His wild talk in the *tambos*. Opinions of his character.

21. To show his powers, in the *tambos* and elsewhere he made a display of them, recounting his severities in other posts he had held, with details. All his hearers took him for an imprudent, injudicious, cruel, violent man who neither wanted nor sought for counsel.

Hated by all.

22. Every one, even his brothers, relations, and servants detested and were unable to endure him.

Partiality and temper.

23. In many lawsuits he showed himself to be passionate and partial.

Corrupt practices.

24. He gave powers of attorney of the Court of Justice to incapable persons, to whom they were sold by his brother Vela Nuñez and his brother-in-law Cueto.

Nepotism.

25. He ordered that all the Constables of the kingdom should contribute half of fees to his brother-in-law Diego Alvarez Cueto as Chief Constable and, in spite of the Judges, he caused them to be paid by the court and the city.

Despotism.

26. Cueto despised the appointment, and a servant of the Viceroy acted as his substitute, very violently, so that neither the Judges nor the Alcaldes could do anything but what the Viceroy liked.

Brother and brother-in-law lawless.

27. Cueto and Vela Nuñez always took out of prison anyone they chose.

Nepotism.

28, 29. In spite of the citizens, he made them, by menaces, receive his brother-in-law as Chief Constable.

30. He settled the tributes by the statements of certain persons who had received grants, or only of Indians, without consulting the Judges, without information, or keeping the rules of the ordinances, or the instructions. For this he brought the chiefs and principal Indians to Lima maintaining them and their followers, leaving their districts without Indians or provisions, and thus causing troubles followed by famines, robberies, and disturbance. Misgovernment.

31. He fixed the tributes with partiality and without knowledge, doubling the tax on some, reducing it by a half for others who were friends of Cueto and Vela Nuñez. Corrupt practices.

32. The Indians of Melchor Verdugo, a citizen of Truxillo, because he came from Avila, were rated higher than those of all the other citizens put together. The valuation of Verdugo was over 9000 *pesos* of gold and other things, and that of all the others put together did not amount to that sum.

33. To those whom he dismissed from lieutenancies he increased the tributes. For these reasons the people would not receive him in Cuzco, Arequipa, Huanuco, Chachapoyas, Charcas and Quito. Many went to Cuzco with arms and horses, wishing to march against him to kill him or drive him out of the country, for they said that he was a man without justice, proud, very cruel, one who neither kept his word nor promise, and one in whom they could have no faith. Opinions against him.

34. He treated many times with Gonzalo Pizarro and others who had risen against him, but they always answered that he must leave the country and that they would not be governed by him. Failure of his attempts to treat with rebels.

35. He proposed to the Judges and officials that 50 arquebusiers and 30 mounted soldiers should be raised for a guard for himself and the city, and on this pretext he spent 150,000 *castellanos* of your Majesty's treasure, by the hand of Vela Nuñez, whom he made Captain-General, and H. M. treasure spent on armaments.

of Cueto who has taken 30,000 *castellanos* without giving any account, for his servants.

Soldiers disloyal.

37[1]. Most of these soldiers, by reason of their bad treatment, say that they do not want the Viceroy to win, nor to fight for him. Every day some desert to the enemy.

Bad appointments.

38. He gave the captaincies to inexperienced men. A captain of arquebusiers fled, and another he threatened to stab.

Wild threats.

39. He treats everyone as a traitor, threatening to kill them. At the same time that he tried to treat with those of Cuzco, he publicly declared that he would kill some and banish others; and that he wished ill to all and would defeat them.

Conduct of Judges a contrast.

40. The Judges had lived at their own cost and honestly, had given advice to the Viceroy and sent two bishops to treat with the rebels.

Viceroy's conduct cause of the rebellion.

41. The Viceroy by his attempt to enforce the ordinances untimely and without the consent of the Judges, and by his follies, evil speeches, and cruelties has been the cause of the rebellion.

Treatment of two women.

42. He condemned a married woman, with Indians, on the ground that she had perjured herself respecting an emerald cross which she said she had given to the Licentiate Vaca de Castro, to imprisonment and to do public penance in the church. He ordered another to be sent to prison for sitting near him in church. As regards the first sentence he enraged everyone. As regards the second all the relations rose in rebellion and wanted to kill him.

Acted alone in criminal cases and actions for debt.

43. In criminal cases, and suits for debts he alone heard and sentenced.

Favouritism.

44. Under colour of the war he gave his servants double the pay received by the other soldiers.

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[1] *sic.*

45. In the night of Sunday the 14th of September Don Baltasar de Castilla and Gaspar Mexia, with 18 others, fled from Lima, owing to the abuse and bad treatment they had received. The Viceroy ordered the Factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal to be summoned in the middle of the night. When he came the Viceroy said: "Say cunning traitor! how is it that you have committed this treason in allowing your nephews and some servants to go to the rebels at Cuzco?" The Factor replied: "I know nothing of it, and I am no traitor. On the contrary I serve his Majesty." On this the Viceroy stabbed him with a dagger[1], and ordered Cueto and the servants to finish him. When he was dead they put the body into the corridor, and thence, after an interval, two negroes took it away for burial[2]. Murder of Carbajal.

46. The Factor was a quiet and virtuous person who knew nothing about the flight of nephews or servants. He had a very large house with four doors and 40 or 50 persons living there. He was retired in his own room, and took no notice of what was going on. He took a great part in advocating the reception of the Viceroy, when the magistrates and people were against it. Character of the murdered man.

47. The Judges convened a meeting in the morning of Tuesday, the 16th of September, to discuss the questions whether the Viceroy should wait in Lima for the arrival of Gonzalo Pizarro and the others who were coming from Cuzco; and if he arranged to go, whether the Judges Question of Judges remaining if the Viceroy left.

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[1] One witness said that, after the first blow, Cueto said, embracing the Viceroy, "*no more, Sir, for the love of God*," yet he was killed by the servants with many stabs. Ribadeneira, Tapia, Vela (a relation) and other attendants were present.

[2] By order of Alonso de Lerma, Ensign to the General Vela Nuñez, two negroes took the body of the Factor to bury it secretly. Afterwards the body was ordered to be disinterred, and the numerous deep poniard wounds were seen and noted. Finally it was again buried very honourably.

should remain. It was decided that the Judges should remain for many reasons offered by officials, magistrates and captains who were consulted.

Decision repudiated by the Viceroy.

48. But the Viceroy had resolved to embark and take the Judges and officers of the Court, and all the citizens, and to kill anyone that resisted[1]; while his brother Vela Nuñez was to march by land with the soldiers, for Pizarro would not come across him. The Viceroy repudiated the opinion of the majority, saying that he would wait in Lima to be sure that all the others should not think that he wanted them to embark.

Decision of the Judges to remain.

49. It remained to deliberate on so serious a matter, and the two Bishops of Quito and Cuzco who were then in Lima, joined in consultation with the Judges and the officials of the municipality. The Judges then published their resolution not to depart. The Viceroy called together his captains with whom he consulted without the intervention of the Judges or anyone else.

Captains concur.

50. The decision of the captains was that, although the Viceroy might depart, the Judges ought to remain, maintaining the country in the name of His Majesty.

Wild conduct of the Viceroy. Taken to Cepeda's house.

51. Nevertheless the Viceroy resolved to take the royal seal, the Judges and officials with all their property, and that of many citizens with their wives, children, horses, farriery, &c. In the night of Tuesday the 16th of September the soldiers assembled under Vela Nuñez, and at dawn of the 17th there was a call to arms at the Viceroy's door with the cry, "Sack! Sack!" The Judges wished to stop the sacking of the town, and came to the Viceroy's door with three banners. They did not dare to go in to speak with him, because they had been told that he would kill them. But they sent the choir master with some monks

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[1] The Viceroy's wild scheme was to abandon Lima, taking all the inhabitants to Truxillo, men by land, women and children by sea.

and clergymen to entreat him not to insist on the destruction of the city and kingdom, but to embark if he desired to do so, and to leave the citizens with their property. He would not condescend to talk with them, but many of the citizens had taken up arms and wished to oppose the Viceroy and his soldiers. If it had not been for the Judges who ordered, on pain of death, that no one should injure the person of the Viceroy, he would have been killed. He took refuge in the house of the Licentiate Cepeda, where he was quite safe from the citizens, and the soldiers who hated him.

Judges' version of the Viceroy's departure.

52. The Viceroy was well served and attended all the time that he was in Cepeda's house. Of his own accord he said that he was hated, and that he wanted to go to Spain. By his order they took him to embark. Those who had command of the ships did not wish to receive him, and there were mutinies on board six or seven that were in the port. Two were burnt and two others were sent to the bottom by Geronimo de Zurbano, Martin de Arauco, and Diego Alvarez de Cueto, the Viceroy's brother-in-law, or by their order. They did this to rob all that was on board the ships, of a value of more than 130,000 *castellanos*. The ships were in charge of Alvarez de Cueto, and it is believed that all this was done with the consent of the Viceroy.

Judges' version.

53. At the time when the Judges came out of the house of Maria de Escobar, where they met that morning from fear of the Viceroy, the Licentiate Alvarez said: "Be my witnesses that we go to entreat the Viceroy not to kill us, take us, nor force us to embark, and to tell him that the people have risen against him. We go neither to enrage him nor to injure him and let it be punishment of death for any who acts otherwise." He repeated this at the corner of the street, and on the steps of the church.

Judges claim to have saved the Viceroy.

54. Without doubt the people would have killed the Viceroy, if the Judges had not intervened.

Hatred of the people.

55. But he was not safe on land, nor to govern. For he was so detested that the people would have torn him to pieces rather than consent to his government, as they publicly declared.

Viceroy's temper.

56. When anyone opposed his decisions, he became so furious that he seemed to have lost his senses, abusing and menacing the objector.

A foolish talker.

57. He was such a talker that he told the contents of the reports and letters he received at his table, however secret they might be.

Necessary that he should go.

58. If he should be longer in Peru, there would be a thousand misfortunes, so it was absolutely necessary that he should go back to Spain, and that your Majesty should be informed.

When he was gone peace restored.

59. In effect, as the people know that he wishes to return to Spain, all things are quiet and peaceful.

SEQUEL

(By the Editor.)

The first part of the *War of Quito* closes just before the murder of Illan Suarez de Carbajal. It was a final death-blow to the Viceroy's rule. He knew this himself and no doubt felt sorrow and remorse at his sudden gust of passion. But it was too late. The deed was done.

On assuming the governorship of Peru Gonzalo Pizarro was advised to send envoys to Spain to urge the greatness of his services, explain the course of events, and obtain confirmation of his position. The wise and far-seeing Carbajal alone opposed. He said that the best *Procuradores* were many arquebuses, soldiers and horses. But it was resolved that Dr Tejada, one of the Judges, should go

to represent his colleagues, and Francisco Maldonado for Pizarro. There was only one ship, the one on board of which Vaca de Castro had long been kept a prisoner by the Viceroy. Vaca de Castro was informed of the intention by his relation Garcia de Montalvo. The crew willingly agreed to seize the ship and take Vaca de Castro to Panama, for he was respected and beloved by all on board. So she sailed away, leaving Gonzalo Pizarro furious, for there was no other vessel to take his "Procurators."

Luckily a brigantine arrived from the port of Arequipa and Dr Tejada, Maldonado, and Bachicao embarked, sailing along the coast. At Payta they heard of the release and landing of the Viceroy.

As soon as the vessel with the Judge Alvarez on board, taking the Viceroy and his brothers to Panama, was well out at sea, there was another act of treachery. Alvarez went to the Viceroy, declared he had only taken charge of him to get him out of the power of his colleague Cepeda, and that now he was free to do as he pleased. The Viceroy took charge, very ungratefully covered Alvarez with abuse, and landed with his few followers.

Bachicao went on to Panama. On his arrival Vaca de Castro, and the Viceroy's envoys—his brother-in-law Cueto and Zurbano—fled to Nombre de Dios, and embarked for Spain. They were joined by Tejada and Maldonado. But Tejada died during the voyage. Cueto and Maldonado arrived, and went off to the Emperor in Germany to tell their stories. Vaca de Castro landed at Terceira, and went thence, by way of Lisbon, to the Court of Spain. He was falsely accused and imprisoned in the castle of Arevalo for more than five years. Finally he was acquitted, and declared to have been a good ruler. He was restored to his seat in the Royal Council of Castille. Garcilasso saw him at Madrid in the end of 1571. His son Antonio was granted a large *repartimiento* in Peru.

The Viceroy having landed, managed to get together 150 men and marched to Quito where he was well received, and increased his force by 200 more men. With this force, and a native of Quito named Diego de Ocampo as general, he returned to Piura. The Judge Alvarez was always with him. Gonzalo Pizarro sent Gonzalo Diaz de Pineda and Geronimo de Villegas along the coast to Truxillo and Piura to collect men. They reached Piura, but fled on the approach of the Viceroy and sent the news to Pizarro. The Viceroy made a night march and surprised them, putting them and their followers to flight. Pineda fled alone into the mountains and died of hunger. Villegas escaped to Truxillo, while the Viceroy returned to Piura.

Gonzalo Pizarro, when he received the news that the Viceroy was still in the country at the head of a large force, resolved to attack him without delay. He left Lorenzo de Aldana as Governor of Lima, with 80 arquebusiers. He went himself by sea to Truxillo, with 150 picked officers and men, stores and munitions of war. The rest marched by land. The Judge Cepeda had become a fighting man and a strong partisan of Pizarro. The *Audiencia* or Court of Justice had ceased to exist, for Alvarez was with the Viceroy, Tejada had gone to Spain, and Zarate remained at Lima, keeping aloof from all recent proceedings.

Pizarro took the royal seal with him, and embarked in March 1545. Landing at Santa he marched to Truxillo, where all the troops were assembled, going thence to the province of Collique. He had 600 men, horse and foot, about the same number as the Viceroy but Pizarro's were more experienced soldiers. Supplies of all kinds were got together in Collique, and arrangements were made for carrying water across the deserts. On his approach to Piura, the Viceroy made a rapid retreat into the mountains. Pizarro, without entering Piura, followed in pursuit. Each

day the work became more severe. Many stragglers from the Viceroy's force were captured. Reaching Ayahuaca Pizarro halted to rest his men and obtain supplies. The Viceroy continued his march to Quito. Pizarro resumed the pursuit, but the mountain route was extremely difficult. At last he sent Carbajal ahead with 50 mounted men, who reached the enemy's camp at 4 A.M. The Viceroy got his men into some order and continued his march. At dawn, when he saw the small number of his pursuers, he turned to attack them. His men were perishing with cold and hunger, and Carbajal declined the combat. Fresh troops joined Pizarro under Juan de Acosta[1], and the Viceroy was so closely pressed that he fled with 60 mounted men. He reached Tumibamba where he put his Camp Master Ocampo and several others to death, on suspicion of traffic with the enemy—the captains Geronimo de la Serna and Gaspar Gil.

The Viceroy marched from Tumibamba to Quito

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[1] Juan de Acosta was a native of Barcarrota near Badajos. He served under Gonzalo Pizarro in the Quijos expedition as "Alferez General," and displayed great valour, endurance, and energy. He returned with Gonzalo, and commanded the vanguard at the battle of Añaquito. He was wounded, but he was in the procession when Pizarro entered Lima in triumph. When Aldana betrayed his benefactor and declared for Gasca with Pizarro's ships, Acosta went up the coast to prevent them from getting water. He served actively the cause of his master and was wounded at the battle of Huarina, being a captain of infantry. Before Sacsahuana Juan de Acosta, with 30 men, went to destroy Gasca's bridge at Cotabamba, but his plan was betrayed by a soldier named Juan Nuñez del Prado. When all hope was gone, he proposed to Gonzalo Pizarro to dash into the enemy's ranks and die like heroes. Gonzalo said, "better to die like Christians" and rode over to surrender. Acosta followed him (April 9, 1548). He was put to death by Gasca, and his head, in an iron cage, was exposed for a long time at Cuzco. When nearly all deserted their chief, Juan de Acosta remained faithful to the last. Nearly all the public men in Peru had acted treacherously or changed sides. The few honourable men deserve to be placed on record. Besides old Carbajal and Juan de Acosta, there remained faithful to Pizarro, and were ruthlessly put to death by Gasca, the Captains Francisco Maldonado, Juan Velez de Guevara, Dionisio de Bobadilla, and Gonzalo de los Nidos, whose tongue was cut out before execution by order of the cruel Gasca. Many others were hanged or tortured.

without difficulty, where he put three more officers to death. Pizarro sent Juan de Acosta to follow the Viceroy with 60 cavalry.

Gonzalo Pizarro had sent Francisco de Almendras to Charcas as his Lieutenant, a staunch adherent. He put a citizen of Chuquisaca named Gomez de Luna in prison for some speech against Pizarro's rule. The municipality ordered him to be released, upon which Almendras went to the prison and had him strangled. Many people were furious, especially a citizen named Diego Centeno. He made a plot with others (Luis de Mendoza, Alonso Perez de Esquivel, Alonso de Camargo, Hernan Nunez de Segura, Lope de Mendieta, Juan Ortiz de Zarate) to murder Almendras[1]. This they did, and then declared for the King, appointing Diego Centeno their Captain-General. Alonso de Toro marched against him from Cuzco. When the news reached Gonzalo Pizarro near Quito, he sent Carbajal to put down the insurrection. The indefatigable old man set out with an escort of 20 men. He collected men on the way at Truxillo and Guamanga, and then took the route by Lima to Arequipa, thence to Cuzco where he found Alonso de Toro. He marched against Centeno who retreated before him. Carbajal gave him no rest, and hunted him down to the coast.

Meanwhile Gonzalo Pizarro continued the chase of the Viceroy by day and night, over a country purposely made bare of provisions by the pursued. Pizarro was joined by Bachicao who came from Panama with 350 men, artillery, and 20 ships. Pizarro's force then amounted to 800 soldiers. The Viceroy continued his flight to Pastos, within the jurisdiction of Sebastian de Belalcazar. Pizarro, after a short stay at Quito, continued the pursuit, and the

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[1] Almendras had befriended Centeno in many ways, and had treated him as his own son.

Viceroy fled to Popayan. Pizarro then returned to Quito. He appointed Pedro de Hinojosa to command the fleet which was at Puerto Viejo, with 250 men. Hinojosa obtained information that the Viceroy's brother, Vela Nuñez, was coming to the coast on a mission to Spain, with a natural son of Gonzalo Pizarro as a hostage. Hinojosa captured them both, and proceeded with them to Panama. He arrived there in October 1545, and took possession without interfering with the civil government.

The Viceroy busily collected arms and assembled troops at Popayan and, having received false news respecting the strength of the enemy, he began his march southwards, hoping to destroy the forces of Puelles and Pizarro. In reality Pizarro had 200 arquebusiers, 350 pikemen and 150 cavalry, with plenty of good powder.

Captains of Arquebusiers	Juan de Acosta,
	Juan Velez de Guevara.
Captain of Pikemen	Hernando de Bachicao.
Captains of Cavalry	Pedro de Puelles,
	Gomez de Alvarado.
Standard bearer	Francisco de Ampuero.

The fighting Judge Cepeda was there, and the Licentiate Benito Suarez de Carbajal, brother of the murdered Factor, with thirty friends and relations to avenge his death.

The Viceroy faced his enemies near Quito, thinking that he only saw the detachment of Puelles, and that Pizarro was not there. His captains advised a flank march over most difficult country to Quito. This took all night, and at dawn they were a league from the town, worn out with fatigue. The idea was to take the enemy in rear, but it was a fatal mistake. The Viceroy came out of Quito, while Gonzalo Pizarro's army turned and advanced to meet him.

The Viceroy's Captains of Infantry were	Sancho Sanchez de Avila[1],
	Juan Cabrera his cousin[1],
	Francisco Sanchez.
of Cavalry were	Sebastian de Belalcazar[2],
	Pedro de Bazan,
	Francisco Hernandez Giron[2].

The two bodies of cavalry encountered each other but the Viceroy's men were worn out by the long night march. It was a desperate battle at close quarters, both infantry and cavalry. The Viceroy received a blow from Hernando de Torres of Arequipa, which brought him to the ground. Puelles would have protected him, but the Licentiate Carbajal, after searching for him, came up and caused a negro to cut off his head. Gonzalo Pizarro was enraged at this treatment of the Viceroy, and caused his body to be honourably buried, he himself being chief mourner. Pizarro's victory was complete: 200 of the Viceroy's men were killed. The Judge Alvarez died of his wounds a few days afterwards.

Gonzalo Pizarro sent the news of his victory to all the cities in Peru, and Captain Alarcon brought the glad tidings to Hinojosa at Panama in a ship. Pizarro trusted Hinojosa fully, as he owed everything to his benefactor. Hinojosa's treason was the cause of Pizarro's fall. Alarcon brought back Gonzalo Pizarro's son, and Vela Nuñez, the Viceroy's brother: who received full pardon and went with Pizarro to Lima. Gonzalo Pizarro was now at the height of his power. Always just and inclined to mercy, he never put anyone to death without trial. On his return to Lima he enacted some excellent laws for the protection of the Indians. Gasca confessed that Gonzalo Pizarro was a good governor.

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[1] Killed in the battle. [2] Wounded.

Old Carbajal had been hunting Diego Centeno, who hid himself in a cave for eight months. Of his accomplices Lope de Mendoza and Nicolas de Heredia were executed, the rest pardoned, including Luis Pardomo and Alonso Camargo.

Carbajal wrote a long letter to Gonzalo Pizarro urging him to assume the kingship of Peru. He said that no pardon could be expected after killing the Viceroy, nor would it be safe to trust to any promises that might be sent to him. He should divide all the vacant land among his supporters as perpetual tenures, instead of two lives, with titles of Dukes, Marquises, and Counts, and should create military orders. He strongly advised Pizarro to secure the devotion of the natives by taking an Inca Princess as his Queen. Puelles and Cepeda concurred. Pizarro had entered Lima in triumph, accompanied by four Bishops, of Lima, Quito, Cuzco, and Bogota, by Lorenzo de Aldana and all the municipal officers and magistrates, and nearly all the citizens.

Vela Nuñez, the Viceroy's brother, had been brought back to Lima. There was also at Lima one Juan de la Torre who had married a daughter of a Curaca near Puerto Viejo. He got with her a large treasure, and he wanted to return to Spain to enjoy it. He proposed to Vela Nuñez to join him and seize a ship to which Vela Nuñez agreed. The ruffian then thought he might gain more by betraying his victim to Pizarro. Vela Nuñez was beheaded.

When Carbajal heard of the arrival of Gonzalo Pizarro at Lima, he came from Charcas where he had restored tranquillity. Pizarro came out some distance to meet him. He brought with him great store of treasure, and had a grand reception. Alonso de Mendoza was left as Pizarro's Lieutenant in Charcas.

All seemed hopeful for the future, with a good administration under a most popular Governor. The treachery of

Hinojosa and Aldana in delivering up the fleet to Gasca at Panama, renewed all the trouble, with six more years of civil war.

Letter from Francisco de Carbajal to Gonzalo Pizarro.

Most illustrious Sir,

As God alone is the true master of all things and knows what He says, arranging all things according to His will and pleasure, although I wrote to you the other day, by Diego Lopez de Segura, that we should enter Guamanga on the day that you received the letter, He was not served that we should do so. For on the following Tuesday, in the night, after I had despatched Segura, we were to sleep at Lucumaes, I had a pain in the stomach followed by a severe pain in the side, with which I was unable to take the road, though there was no want of doctors and medicines.

Feeling a little better I left Lucumaes where I was taken ill, and came to Andahuaylas. I was there attacked again so severely that it would have been desperation to continue the journey, so I remained to be cured. I give your honour an account of this, that you may not think I am enjoying myself.

Your honour's page Burgos arrived at Andahuaylas, who gave me two despatches sent by you, and I saw all that they contained. Your honour need have no anxiety, for I have brought Cuzco to a healthy state as well in one part as another, bringing with me all those who are suspected and can do anything, that they may be known to you and serve you, and leaving there the sowing that seemed convenient. In fine, until I can see your honour, and can tell you all by word of mouth that seems advisable for the

security of all, it will be well to be as secret as such affairs require.

From this same place I sent Burgos to Cuzco to accompany the escort bringing some treasure from your Honour's estate, and I shall send it forward with the care that is necessary, doing all in my power to forward your service.

With regard to the pikes which you ordered me to burn, I have sent for them that they may be brought to Guamanga by little and little, and thence they shall be sent to Lima. I beseech your Honour that you will deem that I do well in this. For the kingly crowning with which we are, in a few days, to crown your Honour there will be a great concourse of people, and on that occasion I wish to have charge of such details as may be convenient. I assure your Excellency that the most terrible war that can be made for the security of your army and your person, and for the rout of an enemy, is with pikes, and I know very well what I am saying.

Rodrigo de Zamudio arrived here last night, who resides at Chuquiapu (La Paz). He came with Father Ortun Sanchez from your Honour's estates, bringing 35,000 *pesos* of gold from Chuquiapu and in silver from Potosi, respecting which the Father informed me. I have sent it from here with the best escort I could arrange. I pray that you will give the bearers good treatment and presents, for it is true that much work is done each day, backwards and forwards, in your Honour's service, and I will look upon it as a reward to myself. May the illustrious person of your Honour be maintained with all the health and increase of prosperity that you can desire. From this station of Andahuaylas to-day Thursday the 17th of March 1547.

Your Servant who kisses
Your Honour's hands
FRANCISCO DE CARBAJAL.

La Gasca's voyage.

Document in the special library of the King of Spain (16 *f^s cuaderna* 17), in the handwriting of one of La Gasca's secretaries, quoted by the Palentino. Neither Prescott nor Barros Arana had seen it.

Abridged.

We arranged that Lorenzo de Aldana should sail with two ships and a frigate, and in his company Palomino and Juan de Illanes, and the Provincial of the Dominicans with letters, provisions, and pardons, and 300 soldiers.

Finding all quiet in Peru, and himself popular, while Tierra Firme was in his hands, for he was ignorant of the treason there, his Council advised Gonzalo Pizarro to become King by an Act similar to that made at Avila by Alonso, in the time of his brother Henry IV, to be approved by all the citizens and principal persons in Peru. Carbajal, who was at Cuzco, was ordered to Lima. Meanwhile the Licentiates Cepeda and Carbajal, and Juan de Acosta a great favourite of Gonzalo, tried to persuade Gonzalo that the Camp Master was a traitor and advised Gonzalo to kill him. Carbajal set out, but was taken very ill at Andahuaylas. He wrote to Gonzalo of the Kingship he was about to assume, and of the great concourse of people there would be at Lima. The letter is dated at Andahuaylas 17 March 1547.

Lorenzo de Aldana, Hernan Mexia, Palomino, and Juan de Illanes, and the Regent Friar Tomas San Martin sailed from Panama with two ships and a frigate 17 Feb. 1547. I made sail from Panama to Taboga 10 April 1547, where there were 22 other ships. April 12 we left Taboga, I, General Pedro de Hinojosa, Diego Garcia de Paredas, &c. in the *capitana.*

Aldana, joined by Paniagua with another ship, put into Guayaquil.

Gasca encountered bad weather and put into Buenaventura. The captain wanted to return to Panama. There were very heavy seas, thunder and lightning, and a downpour of rain, wet through fore and aft. Those with him entreated him to let the captain shorten sail. He refused. At last he went to his cabin to see how his papers had fared with the water. Then Paredes and others told the sailors that I had ordered the mainsail to be lowered. Having done my best to protect the papers from wet, I came out and found the men on the yard and the sail being lowered. I shouted that it was not to be done, but no one wanted to hear me. At this juncture a number of lights of St Elmo appeared on all the yards, which gave great consolation, all the sailors falling on their knees and saying their St Elmo prayer. This led to silence, and I and Pedro de Hinojosa, with some others, got the sail up again. This reminded me of what Aristotle and Pliny said that when there are many of these lights, it is a sign that the tempest will cease. Next day we were able to anchor under the shelter of Gorgona. Don Pedro Cabrera's ship reached Buenaventura, where he and his people landed and marched by Popayan and Quito, reaching Xauxa after seven months, in November. I found 12 ships at Gorgona. The Bishop of Lima, Hinojosa, and Paredes went in the galliot. April 30th all sailed from Gorgona, I also in the galley with 30 of the best arquebusiers, to go by rowing if sails were of no use. Paniagua met me off Gallo with a letter from Gonzalo Pizarro. He dwelt on the services of his brothers and himself, on the necessity for expelling Blasco Nuñez, and on his care of the royal treasury.

Murder of the Inca Manco described by his son.

Titu Cusi Yupanqui, younger son of the murdered Inca Manco, being a neophyte in the beginning of 1570, dictated to an Augustine friar named Marcos Garcia, who was with him at Vilcapampa, the following "Narrative of the entry of the Spaniards into Peru, and of what happened to him when they were living with him."

All these things having happened, both those which I have mentioned and many others which I have not touched upon to avoid prolixity, my father returned to Vilcapampa as head of all this province, where he rested for some days. From this place, because he did not like to be without me, he sent to Cuzco for me, where I was, until they took me to Viticos, in the house of Oñate[1]. The messengers took me and my mother secretly to the town of Viticos, where my father had come for fresh air, it being a cold land. There I and my Father stayed for many days. At different times seven Spaniards arrived, saying that they were fugitives owing to having committed offences, and they protested that they would serve my Father with all their power, for the remainder of their lives. They prayed that they might be allowed to remain in that land and end their days there. My Father, thinking that they came with good intentions, ordered his captains to do them no harm, for he wished to keep them as his servants, and that

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[1] Francisco de Oñate, one of the first conquerors, had the house at Cuzco which was afterwards occupied by Garcilasso de la Vega, facing what is now the Plaza del Cabildo, on the west side. Oñate was slain at the battle of Chupas.

they should have houses in which to live. The captains would much rather have put an end to them, but obeyed my Father's orders. My Father had them with him for many days and years, treating them very well, and giving them all that they needed, even ordering his own women to prepare their food and their beverage, and taking his meals with them. He treated them as if they were his own brothers.

After these Spaniards had been with my Father for several years in the said town of Viticos they were one day, with much good fellowship, playing at quoits with him: only them, my Father, and me, who was then a boy. Without having any suspicion, although an Indian woman, named Banba, had said that the Spaniards wanted to murder the Inca, my Father was playing with them as usual. In this game, just as my Father was raising the quoit to throw, they all rushed upon him with knives, daggers, and some swords. My Father, feeling himself wounded, strove to make some defence, but he was one and unarmed, and they were seven fully armed; he fell to the ground covered with wounds, and they left him for dead. I, being a little boy, and seeing my Father treated in this manner, wanted to go where he was to help him. But they turned furiously upon me, and hurled a lance which only just failed to kill me also. I was terrified and fled amongst some bushes. They looked for me, but could not find me. The Spaniards, seeing that my Father had ceased to breathe, went out of the gate, in high spirits, saying, "Now that we have killed the Inca we have nothing to fear." But at this moment the captain Rimachi Yupanqui arrived with some Antis, and presently chased them in such sort that, before they could get very far along a difficult road, they were caught and pulled from their horses. They all had to suffer very cruel deaths and some were burnt. Notwithstanding his wounds my

Father lived for three days. Before he died, he sent for me and all his captains, and spoke these words.....[1]

All the above writing was done and ordered to give the information dictated by the most illustrious Lord Don Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui, son of Manco Inca Yupanqui late natural Lord of these kingdoms of Peru, to the Reverend Father Friar Marcos Garcia, Friar Presbyter of the order of Saint Augustine, who resides in that province of Vilcapampa, having in charge the cure of all the souls within it, to the honour and glory of Almighty God.

I Martin Pando, clerk, commissioned by the Illustrious Lord the Licentiate Lope Garcia de Castro, late Governor of these kingdoms, solemnly declare that all that is above written was composed and ordered by the said Father under the instructions of the said Don Diego de Castro, and which I myself wrote with my proper hands in the manner dictated by the said Father, being witnesses the Reverend Father Friar Diego Ortiz, professed presbyter of the said order, who jointly resides in company with the author of this, and three captains of the said Don Diego de Castro, named Suta Yupanqui, Rimachi Yupanqui, and Sullca Huarac. In token of the good faith of all the aforesaid, I signed my name. Done in the town of San Salvador of Vilcapampa, on the 6th of February 1570, which, to make it more authentic is also signed with the names of Father Friar Martin Garcia and Father Diego Ortiz.

I Don Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui, natural son of Manco Inca Yupanqui late Lord of these kingdoms

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[1] The Editor omits them, and all the rest, and merely gives the last few words of the narrative, and some testimonies.

of Peru declare that, as it is necessary for me to make this statement to the King Don Philip our Lord, containing things of importance to me and my successors, and not knowing the style and manner used by Spaniards in such reports, I requested the very Reverend Father Friar Marcos Garcia and Martin de Pando that, in conformity with the usage on such occasions, they would order and compose the above narrative, for the very illustrious Lord, the Licentiate Lope Garcia de Castro to send to Spain; that for me, in my name, holding, as I do hold, my power, all may be explained to his Majesty Don Philip our King and Lord, that he, seeing the grounds of my request, may show favour to me, to my sons and my descendants and I sign my name on the day aforesaid.

Don Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui.

To Don Lope Garcia de Castro,

Having received letters from your Lordship, asking me to become a Christian and saying that it would conduce to the security of the country, I enquired of Diego Rodriguez and Martin de Pando, who was the principal monk among those who were in Cuzco, and who were the most approved and of most weight among the religious orders. They replied that the most flourishing were those of St Augustine, and their Prior was the most important religious in Cuzco. Having heard this, I became more attached to the order of St Augustine than to any other. I wrote letters to the Prior, requesting him to come in person to baptize me, because I would rather be baptized by him than by anyone else. He took the trouble to come to my country and to baptize me, bringing with him another monk, and Gonzalo Perez de Vivero and Atilano de Anaya who arrived at Rayangalla on the 12th of August 1568, whither I came from Vilcapampa to receive baptism.

There, in that village of Rayangalla, were the said Prior named Juan de Vivero and his companions. I was instructed in the things of the faith for a fortnight, at the end of which time, on the day of the famous Dr St Augustine, the Prior baptized me. My godfather was Gonzalo Perez de Vivero and my godmother Doña Angelina Zica Ocllo. After I was baptized the Prior remained for eight days to instruct me in the holy catholic church and to initiate me into its mysteries. He then departed with Gonzalo Perez de Vivero, leaving me a companion named Friar Marcos Garcia, that he might little by little instil into my mind what the Prior had taught, that I might not forget, and also to teach the word of God to the people of my land. Before he departed I explained to my followers the reason why I had been baptized, and had brought these people into my land. All replied that they rejoiced at my baptism, and that the friar should remain. In effect the friar did remain with me[1].

Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa.

Notice.

Thin 4to MS.

The manuscript of the Report of Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa on his mission to Titu Cusi Yupanqui Inca, came into the possession of Eugene Jacquet, a French orientalist, who gave it to Alexander von Humboldt, in

[1] The Appendix only consists of these extracts. Evidently the most important part of the narrative is omitted. Unfortunately Jimenes de la Espada gives no clue to the title of the document he copied from, nor to its whereabouts, he merely ends by saying: "I am somewhat prolix in giving these details because all or nearly all respecting the life of Titu Cusi Yupanqui, the penultimate native monarch of Peru, is completely unknown."

The Mission to Titu Cusi Yupanqui was in the time of the President Lope Garcia de Castro, 1564–69.

1833. Humboldt left it to the Royal Library at Berlin. The text was published by Dr Pietschmann of Gottingen in 1910.

Rodriguez came to Peru in about 1552. The Count of Nieva, Viceroy from 1561 to 1564, appointed him *Defensor de todos los Indios.*

Rodriguez took part in the subjugation of Vilcapampa by order of the Viceroy Toledo in 1571, and an *encomienda* of 100 Indians was given to him, in that province, where he was Alguazil Mayor. He was there four years, but quarrelled with the Governor. In a petition to the Viceroy Don Martin Henriquez, successor to Toledo (1 Dec. 1582), Rodriguez mentions that he has five daughters and three sons, that he had lived many years at Potosi, and had fought in three battles for the King. He had occupied himself with writings and pictures representing the history of the Incas and all sorts of reports and memoirs. He had been Corregidor of Potosi.

NARRATIVE

OF THE ROUTE AND JOURNEY MADE BY

DIEGO RODRIGUEZ

FROM THE CITY OF CUZCO TO THE LAND OF WAR OF MANCO[1] INCA WHO WAS IN THE ANDES IN INSURRECTION AGAINST THE SERVICE OF HIS MAJESTY,

AND OF THE AFFAIRS TOUCHING WHICH HE TREATED WITH THE OBJECT OF ESTABLISHING PEACE, AS WELL AS TO INDUCE THE PEOPLE TO RECEIVE THE EVANGELICAL DOCTRINE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST

as follows:

I left Cuzco on the 8th of April after having received letters from the Judge Matienzo to the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui, with leave to make an entrance, after having offered my services to go by that route. I went to sleep at Tambo, where they gave me seven Indian carriers to show me the way. Three men of this town were to enter with me, after the cacique had told them that if the Inca asked them whence they came they were to say they came from another part and that they were not natives of Tambo, because it was a garrison of the Inca frontier, and he might kill them, if they said they came from thence.

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[1] Inca Manco had been murdered by a Spaniard in 1545. He had established himself in the mountainous region of Vilcapampa, which Rodriguez calls "the land of war of Manco" between the rivers Apurimac and Vilcamayu. His eldest son Sayri Tupac came out and surrendered to the Spaniards. He died in 1560. The next brother Titu Cusi Yupanqui continued to reign in Vilcapampa.

On the 9th of April I went to the other part of the cordillera, crossed the uninhabited snowy region and slept at Yanamachi, where there are large caves. There I heard that the runners of the Inca had arrived at Chuquichaca which is near the land of peace, and ready to pass to the other side of the river which is subject to the Spaniards. I encouraged the Indians and told them to fear nothing as I would go with them to see what people they were and what they wanted; but they were unwilling. That night seven Indians fled from fear. They carried loads containing some presents for the Inca, bought with my own money and at my cost. Considering one thing and another, I should have wished to return, if it had not been that I was ashamed, and for other secret reasons.

I concealed the loads under some straw, and went on for five leagues to the valley of Amaibamba, three leagues within the land of the Inca, where they gather much coca, and where there are always many Indians at harvest time. The place was devoid of inhabitants, because all had concealed themselves in the forests. There was no one to show me the ford over the river, but I passed, I and the horse, God seeing fit to guide the horse miraculously, the depth being more than 300 *estados*.

Later in April some of the Indians who had fled, as well as the runners, came to me. I encouraged them and said that I would go to the bridge to see what was going on. I said to them that those others were infidels and were not Christians, and that one Christian could fight all the infidels put together; because those others were infidels and they were Christians. They answered that they had been robbed more than ten or fifteen times, and some of those others had got their wives and children, that they were not men but devils with no fear of God, and that when they had stolen everything they burnt the house, and to insult the Christians they burnt the churches, and

had broken the images, and with the cross placed in front they had made a fire and cooked a sheep. It is true that I saw the burnt church, and the pieces they showed me, which may have been bits of the cross. I explained to them that God permitted this for our sins, but that He would inflict a great punishment on those others. I told them that I was going to speak to the Inca on the part of the President of the Municipality and of the Royal Audience of the city of La Plata, and to warn him that if he would not live in conformity with our Holy Catholic Faith and in obedience to his Majesty, war would be declared. While I should be there, they were to keep a good watch on the bridge to see when the runners should arrive, that I might speak with them. They replied that they did not dare, and they also advised me not to, because those others would kill me, and give my body to be eaten by the Anti Indians.

Seeing the small courage of these Indians, I sent them for the loads, to the place where they were hidden, and left the horse here, in the valley of Amaibamba, as the road was very rough, and in places one could not even walk on foot, but like cats. I arrived at the bridge, which is between two great hills, on the 11th of April. I made great lights on the banks of the river to see if any of the Inca's runners had arrived. I also made a flag of a pocket handkerchief, and put it on the top of a tree as a sign of peace, and a very large cross on the bridge, that they might understand that a Spaniard and Christian had come. Then two runners came from Yucay, which is in the land of peace. They told me that my luggage had arrived and was waiting at Amaibamba, that the Indians who had fled to the mountains had now returned, that they were not frightened now that I was at the bridge, that they would feel safe while I was there, and that the Inca had gone back, with his captains.

On the 11th they made great fires, and there was much smoke on the other side of the river. That night two Indian runners fled to the mountains because they did not dare to sleep where I slept, which was close to the bridge. There I was, in much trouble with the mosquitos, which bit me by night and by day, but in no trouble about the Inca's people. This being the case I determined to return to Amaibamba, and wait there for the runners. If they made any remark I could say that it was three leagues away, and that the bites of mosquitos had swollen my hands and feet, and brought on a fever.

On Good Friday, the 20th of April, in the evening, a runner arrived with the news that six Indians of the Inca had arrived at the bridge, and there appeared to be more behind. It did not appear what object they had, but they had left the cross which I had set up. All the Indians armed themselves and some, from fear, fled to the mountains. I presently went to the bridge, commending myself to our Lord. I went by a very bad road and in the night, having several falls by the way, and much hard work. I took with me two Indians against their will, with coca, bread, and other things to eat. I arrived at the bridge at about 3 o'clock in the morning, and began to cry out and struck a light. The runners then came together and, with many torches of straw alight, we began to talk. I said that I came, with peaceful intent, to speak to the Inca, bringing letters from the Municipality and Judges of the city of La Plata, and another from the Judge Matienzo, requesting permission for me to enter the country, speak to the Inca, and deliver the letters into his hands. They replied that they were satisfied. The letters were thrown over the river with a sling, and coca and bread were passed over on a rope, that they might eat. I asked them to let me leave one of the two Indians until the reply came from the Inca, to which they agreed.

On the 28th of April the Inca replied in a very brief letter. He thanked me for the trouble I had taken, but for the rest he said that he did not want any Spaniard to enter his territory either in peace or in war, for they would only come as spies and to deceive him. He ordered me not to enter, and that if I did his captains would kill me. Further he kissed the hands of the Judge Matienzo and of all the others who had written, and did not reply as he was in bad health. I was to return with this message. I was to be so good as to send him the letters, which I told him I was bringing, that he might have them in his hand. On the day that I received this reply from the Inca, I reflected that if I returned they would say at Cuzco that I was afraid and sought an excuse for not going to the Inca. So I determined to give the letters to the runners, as well as some presents which I had brought, such as raisins and comfits, quince jam, three pieces of cloth, three pairs of scissors, four knives with sheaths, some needles and other things. I wrote that I was his friend, and that he should understand that I had no wish to deceive him, but to tell him what it would be convenient for him to know. If he would give me permission I would enter his territory to recognize him as a Lord. I further said that if I could serve him in anything I would do so. That he might know this to be the truth I sent him a provision appointing me Defender of all the Indians of this kingdom signed by the Count of Nieva[1].

On the 5th of May ten captains came to the bridge, richly dressed with diadems of plumes, and lances in their hands which they brandished, and wearing masks on their faces. They came to the passage of the bridge where I was, and asked if I was the man who had the audacity to

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[1] Don Diego de Zuñiga y Velasco, Count of Nieva, was Viceroy of Peru from 1559 to 1564, when he was assassinated by a jealous husband.

want to come and speak to the Inca. I said yes. They replied that I could not fail to be much afraid, and if I felt fear I could not come, because the Inca was a great enemy of cowards. To this I answered that if he was an elephant or a giant I might be afraid, but as he was a man like myself I had no fear, but I would offer him respect. If he would let me enter under his word, I would do so, for I knew that he would keep it. On this they produced two letters. One was from a mestizo who is there, named Pando, and the other from the Inca. They sent them across to me. Some of the Indians who were with me then fled. In both letters there were expressions of joy to understand, from the Provision, that I was not a spy and that I did not come to deceive them. They were pleased that I should come as far as a town called Aramcalla, and that the Inca would come there with his Governor and Master of the Camp.

On the 6th of May I crossed the river in a basket travelling along a cable, and seven Indians came with me. The ten Indians of the Inca helped me to cross, and accompanied me. That night I slept at the foot of a snowy mountain, in an uninhabited village called Condormarca, where there had been a bridge in ancient times, which crossed the river to go to Tambo, Sapamarca, and Viticos in the country of peace.

On the 7th of May as many as a hundred Indians came to meet me and accompany me over the road of Marainiyo, a very rough country with much vegetation and some swamps. They asked me if it was I who had put up the flag which I mentioned before. I said yes and that I had hoisted it as a signal that I came on an errand of peace. They answered that it was a great piece of insolence for anyone to hoist a flag in the territory of the Inca, and if it had not been that the Inca had given orders for me to enter, they would have killed me there and then. Each

one then began to brandish his arms, calling the Spaniards bearded cowards and thieves. Others said, "May we not kill this little bearded one, to avenge what his brethren have done to us." I appeased them by saying it was true than when the Spaniards came they did much harm; but that now there was justice, that the people were favoured and had their liberty. They then asked me if I was one of those who came first, or whether I had arrived recently. I answered that it was seventeen years since I came from Spain, that in all times there were some good and some bad, and that now they deserved much honour for it seemed to me that they were good men. As to what others had done, the fault did not lie with me. I then gave them some drink, and I gave some of them needles, ornaments, knives, and other things, so we made friends. I then wrote to the Inca to say that I had entered his country, but had not yet come to where he was, and that in token of friendship I sent him two glass jars and two dozen buttons of green glass that looked like emeralds.

On the 8th of May we departed from the station of the Inca called Marainiyo, and marched to an Indian village named Lucuma where four Indians came to see me from a captain, who was on that frontier, named Cayanbi. I sent him salt and knives, and in return he supplied me with maize and chicha, asking me not to pass on, because he had not sent to tell the Inca anything about my arrival, but that he would come and sleep that night, to accompany me. Considering the abominable road, and the discomfort of having to travel on foot, and seeing that though I was near the goal they would not let me reach it, I sent to say that I would not go, and that I wanted to return to Cuzco. So I ordered the Indians to take the road by which we had come, and I wrote a very angry letter to the Inca saying that I had arrived at Lucuma by his order, and that one of his captains, who was on that frontier, had refused to

receive me in his land. With the letter I sent a hat with two plumes of feathers. When the captain saw my determination to return to Cuzco he came to me, on the road, and begged me not to go until a reply came from the Inca. He also brought plenty of food of the country.

I remained with the captain until another day when the reply of the Inca came, the runner having covered 40 leagues in two days, saying in his letter that he was very angry with the captain who would be well punished. He sent another in his place named Vilcapaniguana, with a hundred Indians to help in my journey. I was lodged in Arancalla, a village of a hundred Indians, in a very rough country near the snows, where there was a large fort.

I arrived there on the 9th of May, and they made me two houses on a hill two arquebus shots from the village. Presently the inhabitants of the village came with provisions for my party. Above all things they asked me to show them the contents of my loads, because they desired much to know. At first I refused, but as it seemed to me that they would manage to find out, against my will, I thought that it would be well to let them see. So they looked at everything. They saw that I carried a sword and dagger, and said that I should show them to the Inca as he would rejoice to see them. The same day a servant of the Inca arrived, with two baskets of earth nuts[1], to visit me on his part. I received him well and gave him a head cloth and an ornament; and for the Inca two packs of cards and two pair of scissors. I understood that he came to see what manner of man I was, and to learn from those who came with me what I had asked, said, and done. They took leave, very well contented.

On the next day, the 11th of May, I received another letter from the Inca, in which he made great offers to me,

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[1] Petacas de *mani* (*Arachis hypogœa*).

owing to the good report he had heard of me from Cuzco, and that I was to come to a village further on called Bambacona that we might sooner meet, and that he would be there in two days.

I set out on the 12th of May and went on to Viticos where the seven Spaniards killed the Inca, and their heads are exposed. The Indians told me that those Spaniards had killed him to raise the land, and that they determined to kill him while playing at *la herradura.* One Mendez[1] did it with four or five stabs behind until he killed him; and to Titu Cusi, the Inca who is now, they would have done the same, but he escaped down some rocks, which they showed me. They, however, succeeded in giving him a stab in the leg, the mark of which he afterwards showed me. If they had wanted to kill some Indians they could have done so, but their object was to kill the Inca. Then many Indians and captains assembled, who seized the Spaniards and killed them.

On the 13th of May I sent two of my Indians to the Inca with some refreshments of raisins, figs, and other things. The Inca received them well, and gave them two baskets of earth nuts which they were to take to me, with a message that next day he would arrive, so that we should see each other soon, and that I need not travel further.

On the 14th of May the Indians of Bambacona had made a large house on a strong height surrounded by entrenchments. Below were the houses of the inhabitants. The road by which he was to come was very clean and passed over a great plain. The three hundred Indians

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[1] Diego Mendez de Sotomayor fought at the battle of Chupas on the side of Almagro the lad, Sept. 16, 1542, and escaped to Cuzco where he was made prisoner. He escaped and took refuge with Manco Inca, who received him hospitably.

Titu Cusi Yupanqui gave an account of the murder of his father, written Feb. 6, 1570. He describes how they tried to kill him also, and how he escaped.

with their lances, and others from the surrounding country, had made a great theatre for the Inca, of red clay. They were awaiting his arrival, and wished me to go out to meet him. They told me that the people of the village would wait on the plain, and that they would show me a place where they had brought two loads of straw, half a stone's throw from the rest of the people. They told me to wait there, and see the entry of the Inca, and not to move until the Inca sent for me.

Many lances were drawn up on a hill, and messengers arrived to say that the Inca was coming. Presently the escort of the Inca began to appear. The Inca came in front of all, with a head-dress of plumes of many colours, a silver plate on his breast, a golden shield in one hand, and a lance all of gold. He wore garters of feathers and fastened to them were small wooden bells. On his head was a diadem and another round the neck. In one hand he had a gilded dagger, and he came in a mask of several colours. Arriving on the plateau where the places of the people were, and his seat was set up, and mine, he gazed where the sun was, making a sort of reverence with his hand, which they call *mucha*, and then went to his seat. There came with him a mestizo with a shield and sword, and in a Spanish dress and a very old cloak. Presently he turned his eyes in the direction where I was, and I took off my hat. The Indians did not notice this. I held up an image of our Lady which I carried in my bosom, and though the Indians saw it, they took no notice. Then two *orejones* came near the Inca with two halberds, dressed in diadems of plumes with much adornment of gold and silver. These made obeisance and reverence to the sun and then to the Inca. All the rest were standing near his seat, encircling him in good order. Presently the governor came, named Yamqui Mayta, with 60 or 70 attendants with their silver plates, lances, belts of gold and silver,

the same dresses as were worn by all who came with the Inca. Then came the Master of the Camp with the same gaily dressed following: and all made obeisance first to the sun and then to the Inca, saying, "Child of the Sun thou art the child of the day[1]." Then they took up their positions round the Inca. Then another captain entered, named Vilcapari Guaman, with about thirty Indians bearing lances adorned with feathers of many colours. Then twenty men with axes, making reverences to the sun like the rest. All wore masks of different colours, which they put before their faces. Next a little Indian entered who, after making reverences to the sun and the Inca, came towards me, brandishing a lance, and raising it with great audacity. He then began to cry out in Spanish "Get out! get out!" and to menace me with his lance. Next another captain entered named Cusi Puma, with about 50 archers; who are Antis eating human flesh. Presently all these warriors took off their plumes of feathers and put down their lances. With their daggers of bronze and their shields of silver, or leather, or of feathers, each one came to do reverence to the Inca who was seated, and then returned to their places.

Presently he sent for me, and passing through that multitude of Indians, I took off my hat and made a speech to him. I said that I had come from Cuzco solely to know and serve him. If I wore a sword and dagger it was to serve him with them, and not to offend him. To this he answered that it was for men to bear arms and not for women or cowards, and he did not, therefore, hold me in more esteem for that. But he said he was pleased at the trouble I had taken to come from such a distance to him, adding that he had come 40 leagues only to see and converse with me. Then he gave me a cup of chicha, asking

[1] "Intip churin ceam-mi sapalla, punchaupi churin canqui."

me to drink it for his service. I drank a quarter of it, and then began to make faces, and wipe my mouth with a handkerchief. He began to laugh, understanding that I did not know that liquor. Then he spoke to the mulatto, asking him how this was, and that our Lord Jesus Christ should be remembered for he had blessed such work. He said that he would show me the governor Yamqui Mayta, that I might talk to him. He came and embraced me as the Inca had done, and he was seated on the Inca's right hand.

Presently I returned to my lodging, with permission of the Inca, and he sent me, by the governor, a macaw and two baskets of earth nuts. Then the mestizo came with a very small cup of chicha, with a message from the Inca asking me to drink it, that he looked upon me as a friend, and that when I liked, we could treat of the matters about which I had come. I took a sip, and gave the rest to one of the Indians who had come with me. He sent a message by the mestizo that I must rest, that I must be tired, and that another day he would do all that I desired. I sent him four pieces of glass, and a case of comfits, which were the presents the Judge Matienzo had sent, and had mentioned in his letter. I also sent half an *arroba* of crystals and pearls, and seven bracelets of silver, saying that the glass was sent by Matienzo, because it was a thing held in high estimation and that as the comfits gave a pleasant taste to the tip of the tongue, so I trusted that my words would give satisfaction, and that I wished to be of service as the messenger and ambassador who came to him. He took it all in, and rejoiced greatly. That he might not hesitate to eat the comfits, I said that they were very good, and that he might be sure that they would do him no harm, I wished to eat some in his presence. I did eat with the mestizo and invited him, who ate them also. Then I gave two sheathed knives, a head cloth, and other things to the governor Yamqui Mayta. I distributed presents to all the

other captains pointed out to me by the mestizo, embraced them all, and returned to my lodging.

Then the people of the village brought much food and presented it to the Inca, and to those who had come with him. The Inca did not eat on cloths, but on green rushes, and the rest on the ground.

The Inca was a man of forty years of age, of middle height, and with some marks of small-pox on his face. His mien rather severe and manly. He wore a shirt of blue damask, and a mantle of very fine cloth. He is served on silver, and there are also twenty or thirty fairly good-looking women, waiting behind him. He sent for me to eat where he was with his women and his governor. The food consisted of maize, potatoes, small beans, and the other products of the country, except that there was very little meat, and what there was consisted of venison, fowls, macaws, and monkeys, both boiled and roasted. When night came on he asked me whether I had made the acquaintance of his captains. I replied in the affirmative, and he then took leave of me. He went to the house that had been prepared for him, in exactly the same order as when he arrived, with music of silver flutes and trumpets. That night there was a guard of a hundred Indians who were divided into watches, and flutes and drums were played to call each watch. They placed a guard of fifteen Indians over me with their lances, I being in a house outside the village. I calculate that all the Indians who came with the Inca, and those of the village, numbered 450.

In the morning of the 14th of May the Inca sent for me to his house, for it was raining. The greater part of his troops were seated round a large fire. The Inca was seated, dressed in a shirt of crimson velvet, with a mantle of the same. All his captains had taken off the masks they wore on the day before. As I entered I saluted,

making many compliments, and taking off my cap. He saluted me in his language. The mestizo was on a seat in front. I presented the Inca with a very good looking glass, two necklaces of coral beads, and a paper book. He was very much pleased with the presents, and ordered my seat to be placed near him, next to the governor and two captains. I understood that the Inca had been told by one of the captains who came with me, respecting what I had said and asked, and that I had expressed discontent at the want of proper respect shown to me by the Indians. Presently he asked for the letter I brought, and what I had come for. I answered that he had already seen the letters, before my arrival, and that he had then read what I now wished to put before him in words. He said that that was true. I then said that what I had to communicate to him was a matter of great importance, both for the salvation of his body and his soul; and that it might be seen that I did not wish to deceive on any point as regards what I had to say, I suggested that he should send for all the wisest men he had with him, that what I had to say might be better understood. At the same time he was himself a man of such sound judgment, his own understanding would be quite sufficient to deal with all that might be submitted to him. He replied that all were there present, and that I might now say what I wanted, as on another day I should have to return to Cuzco with his reply. The Christians, he added, had never given more than one day for audience and another for departure. If they stayed longer his people might kill them from fear and terror, without his permission to kill. I answered that it would occupy more than two days to complete the negotiations, and to make what I had come to say clearly understood. Especially this was the case when I did not wish to cause discontent by being given so short a time, my intention

being rather to cause satisfaction and not annoyance. The Inca was pleased and said to me that he and his captains would not answer until I had represented everything, and after that I could make answer to their view of what I had said.

Presently I said to the mestizo, who was the interpreter, that I requested permission to say something in praise of God and of our holy Christian religion. The Inca gave permission. I then said many things which were the fruits of study in books I had brought, but to avoid prolixity I will not write down my discourse. I have it written in a little book with other things. The Inca and all his captains expressed themselves pleased at having heard it, and enquired whether there were any Christians among the Indians who were there. If so they were ordered to stand up. Twenty or twenty-five among the chiefs did so. I asked each one his name, and every one of them gave me Christian names. So I asked the permission of the Inca to animate and console them, which he was pleased to give. I said to them that they should not turn back but trust in our Lord Jesus Christ, remaining firm in what they had professed when they received baptism. And I told them to serve the Inca as he was their Lord, and also God the creator of all things. I said many other things to them until they began to cry, in presence of all those captains of the Inca, and the Inca himself was moved to anger. He spoke very fiercely to me, saying that no Spaniard who had entered his territory had dared to treat of these things and to praise their Lord Jesus Christ, nor in the time of his father, that it was great insolence on my part, and that he was disposed to order me to be killed. I answered that I came as a man who had to do this, that I had confessed and taken the sacrament as a Christian, and that no time could be better for me

to die than the present. I reminded him that what I had said, was said with his permission. Then I delivered a discourse in praise of truth and against what was false, representing that so I must deal with him, being as truthful as if I was on oath. I then spoke of the Judge Matienzo who had given permission for me to come with a letter from him to the Inca. I told him how well fitted I was to manage affairs for the Indians, and I showed them some papers I had brought with me, by which the Inca would be convinced of it. He should not think that I came as a spy, or for a bad object, nor would he believe it when he knew what I had done for him in his absence. They had all thought that the entries into their lands on foot or on horseback had been secret, but we had known of them and they were quite public. For this there was indeed no need of spies, and presently I would tell them all, and how I desired to take up the negotiation from further back.

During this discussion three of their Indians arrived who had been sent as messengers to the President. They brought eight yards of yellow damask, half a dozen masks, and a letter from the President in which he said that if the Inca would come peacefully to Cuzco, he should have a grant of certain villages of Indians with a revenue of over $15,000, which the Treasurer Merlo would show, sending the account in three or four days, and showing what the rents are from those Indians, which would be paid in the name of his Majesty. Merlo also wrote out a translation of what was in the decrees respecting the Indians. Another letter was sent, signed by the President, which was for Merlo. It said that the letter was written by the President and that if the Inca did not wish to accept the grant that was offered to him, he was requested to reply at once, because an officer, on the part of the city of Cuzco was to force an entry and make war.

The question should be settled for his word had been given. There were letters saying that the chiefs of Xauxa and of the whole kingdom were arrested, and that the municipalities of Cuzco and Guamanga wished to make war.

The Inca and his captains received the news bravely. The Inca rose up and declared that they were not afraid of the Spaniards. He said, before his assembly, all he could think of in abuse of the Spaniards and in praise of his Indians. Then all the Indians arose and began to worship, and those Indian captains began to make offerings, each one for himself, with daggers of bronze or iron in their hands. Some said they would kill four Spaniards, others five, others six, and others ten. One of them, named Chinchero, said that as I was there, why was he not ordered to kill me, for he wanted to stab me with the dagger in his hand. The Inca kept silence, answering nothing, so the Indian went back to his seat.

As daylight was now appearing, and they had all drunk freely, I asked permission of the Inca to return to my lodging and get something to eat, and that on another day I would state frankly what I had come for. So I departed, leaving them to boast loudly, but all much disturbed in their minds.

Soon afterwards they sent me a sheep of Castille, many fowls and partridges, and the other food which their country produces. To those who brought them I gave some trinkets, needles, and other Spanish things. Presently the Inca sent for me. I went there, and was there until night, without a word being spoken, when I returned to my lodging. The reason for this appeared to be that too much chicha had been drunk.

Next day, the 15th of May, the Inca came out in the morning with all his people in the same order as before. He sent for me in the open space. When I came I found them at breakfast, and they gave me, and

my Indian attendants, plenty to eat. Afterwards I asked permission to state what I had come for. I said, through the mestizo interpreter, that the President and Judges of the Royal Audience took great pains to favour the Indians, and for that reason I had come with instructions to offer many advantages, wishing to establish peace, not to make war, not that the Indians should make incursions into the land of peace. The President had been strictly charged by his Majesty to grant many favours to the Inca and his captains, and the Judge Matienzo had sent me to ascertain the Inca's wishes and intentions. To this it was replied that news had now arrived of the desire to make war both from Cuzco and Guamanga, and that threatening movements had been made at other places. In consequence of this, incursions had been made into the land of peace. Further they knew that Hurtado[1] had asked leave to attack them in the time of the Count[2], and had made incursions from Guamanga and in Amaibamba. I replied that the invasion was given up to avoid damage and evil, and not from fear of the Inca's people, also because the Archbishops, friars, and clerics had intervened to prevent war. The Inca said that this was true, that so he had been informed, and that now, as then, the clergy would be against war. I told him that the face of things was altered. The reason was that his people had entered the land of peace, burnt the churches, pulled down the images, and destroyed the crosses: also that the Indians who were there had been made to worship the sun, though they were Christians. For these reasons the Archbishop, friars, and clergy could not show them favour. The Inca denied it, saying that he had

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[1] Perhaps Martin Hurtado de Arbieto, who afterwards commanded the force sent against Tupac Amaro.

[2] The Viceroy Count of Nieva.

not given such an order; and the first instruction he had given to his people, whenever they made a raid, was not to touch either the churches or the crosses. I then said that I had many witnesses to the facts, who had seen him and the mestizo take the images and burn the churches. He then admitted that he had taken the images and that he had them well guarded and could show them, but that he had never burnt the church. I told him that in Amaibamba I had seen the bits of the cross, and that they had cooked a sheep with it. He replied that he had not gone personally on that raid, that the Indians had done it, and that he regretted it much. He also said that none of the friars, clerics, or soldiers in Peru could complain that he had killed one of them, though he might have done so many times. He could easily have killed two Augustine friars and two other Spaniards who were shut up in a house at Curahuasi, and many others at many times and in many places, but he would not do such a thing, and he had ordered his people not to kill them. Nor had he killed the Indians that I had brought, and that the Indians had more liberty in his land than the Spaniards. He only took Indians who had belonged to his ancestors. To this I replied that here in Peru it was said that he was not the heir of the Incas of this kingdom, but the sons of Atahualpâ, because the Spaniards found him in possession of the kingdom when they arrived. He answered that Atahualpâ was a usurper and a bastard who had murdered Huascar Inca the legitimate heir, and that after him came his father Manco Inca. I then observed that the report was that he was an illegitimate son. He then told me that among them, when there was no legitimate son, the custom was that a bastard succeeded. He was, therefore, high priest in what we call spiritual things. This was in default of another

brother, at least one who was older than himself. He thus inherited the temporal lordship. He was in possession and was recognized by the other Incas. They all obeyed him, and if he had not the right they would not obey him. For the rest the question had better be settled by arms and not by talking. All who come try to deceive him. He told me I might go next day. He would write to the Judge Matienzo that he had given me plenty to eat, and let me go in peace. He said he was surprised that I should have shown such prejudice against him in my conversation. In this way he took leave of me, and I went back to my lodging where I remained all that day. From the top of a rising ground I saw the festivities made for the Inca, and heard the songs. The dances were war dances with spears in their hands, throwing them from one to the other. I believe that they did such things by reason of the quantity of chicha they had drunk.

The Inca sent for me late in the afternoon and I went against my will. He told me to sit down and began to boast, saying that he could himself kill fifty Spaniards, and that he was going to have all the Spaniards in the kingdom put to death. He took a lance in his hand and a shield and began to act a valiant man, shouting "Go at once and bring me all that people that are behind these mountains; for I want to go and fight the Spaniards and to kill them all, and I want the wild Indians to eat them." Then there marched up about 600 or 700 Anti Indians, all with bows and arrows, clubs and axes. They advanced in good order, making reverence to the sun and to the Inca, and took up their positions. Then the Inca again began to brandish his lance, and said that he could raise all the Indians in Peru, he had only to give the order and they would fly to arms. Then all those Antis made an offer to the Inca that, if he wished it,

they would eat me raw. They said to him, "What are you doing with this little bearded one here, who is trying to deceive you? it is better that we should eat him at once." Then two renegade Inca *orejones* came straight to me with spears in their hands, flourishing their weapons and saying, "The bearded ones! Our enemies." I laughed at this, but at the same time commended myself to God. I asked the Inca to have mercy and protect me, and so he delivered me from them, and hid me until the morning.

On the morning of the 16th of May the Inca sent for me to come to the open square which he entered in the same order as before, and as I came in I saluted the Inca and sat down. The Inca and all the captains then began to laugh heartily at what had happened the day before, and they asked me what I thought of yesterday's festival. I replied that I thought it rather exceptional, and that to have treated me so was wrong, seeing that I had come on serious business. They explained that it was only their fun, and that they could not give it up. I then observed that I had to go without having settled anything. We should arrange some kind of peace in the way which seemed to them best, with a fixed period. From such an agreement they would derive much good, by having many new things in their land through which they might make much money and become very rich. They said they would agree if they had any confidence in our promises. The Inca then asked me what kind of peace appeared to me to be good. I said that the King would give more than $15,000 of rent for his maintenance, with which he might be in Cuzco, or here in the Andes, if he would consent to have a town of Indians in Vilcapampa. They answered that this was well, because I said that they should sell coca and wood to Spaniards who settled here, and become very rich.

On this proposal we were occupied for two days. Afterwards the Inca said that if the Spaniards lived amongst them and there was some grievance, owing to which the Spaniards killed one of them or they killed a Spaniard, there would be trouble. For this reason he did not wish that there should be a town, or that the Spaniards should live among them. I replied that I did not wish that to happen, and that it would be better for the Inca or his son to come out and take possession of the estates which the President had promised him in the name of his Majesty. A Corregidor might then come here in the name of his Majesty to administer and maintain justice in that land, the inhabitants receiving the evangelical law and holy baptism. From this much good would come and they would possess their houses and estates. They received this proposal very well, with the condition that his Majesty should pardon everything that had been done up to that time. The Inca's conditions were that estates should be given to those who were with him and had served him; that the lands which he and his father had desolated near the land of peace and the valley of Amaibamba should be granted to him; that the Indians taken from there should be his; that his Majesty should gratify the persons favoured, that they should be given a promise that they should enjoy the liberties and privileges enjoyed by people of noble birth; that friars and clerics should enter to preach the holy evangel; and that he should be obedient to his Majesty. As the Inca was poor and unable to appear in conformity with the dignity of his position, he stipulated that his son Titu should go out, and be married to the Inca's niece Doña Beatriz. He also stipulated that the friars and clerics should not be admitted until Doña Beatriz had been delivered to him. He feared that if she was married to anyone else, he and his son would be left without the

repartimiento of Indians granted to his brother Sayri Tupac. After a year or two the Inca undertook to come out peacefully, having collected the means to buy what was necessary. He would settle near Guamanga or Cuzco, whichever locality he liked best, with his son Titu and the governor Yamqui Mayta. This arrangement appeared convenient, and he and his captains would swear to observe it, if it was necessary. I was to go out by the way of Guamanga, to complete the treaty with the President.

At this time a letter arrived from the Judge Matienzo announcing that he intended to leave Cuzco in ten days, and that I was to return, bringing the statement of what the Inca wanted. I then said to the Inca that, to show his sincerity, and that the Christians might see that he was acting in good faith, I would request him to allow me to assemble the Indians who were Christians, to set up a cross, and there to preach the law of our Lord Jesus Christ and the holy evangel. The Inca consented and ordered a great cross to be made. In order that the agreement might be more secure I asked and prayed him to tell me the truth. For I had seen in the baptismal book of the principal church (in Cuzco) that the Inca had been baptized and named Diego. He told me that it was true, and that he was a Christian, and he confessed it before the Indians. He said that they had poured water over his head, but that he did not remember the name. Presently about 120 Christian Indians assembled before the cross, kneeling and taking off their *llautus*. Those who were not Christians stood apart, wondering at our proceedings. We carried the cross, I and four Indians, and set it up. Then I said many things about our holy Christian religion and the salvation of their souls. Then I told them to pray for God's mercy on their knees, which they did three times, crying for mercy with their clasped

hands raised to heaven. Then I asked permission of the Inca to preach to those who were not Christian, as he was one. He agreed, and ordered them to come and hear me preach. I explained to them that the things which God had created were for the use of man, that the sun and moon were creatures made by God for man's service, and to give him light. After they had adored the cross, I said it would be well for me to write to the Judge Matienzo to tell him that they wished to receive the evangel, to make peace, and to send me to Lima on horseback, by way of Guamanga, to settle the agreement with the President. They sent Indian runners, and I sent two of those I had brought with me, to convey the writing as agreed.

On the 17th of May the Inca sent certain macaws and baskets of earth nuts to the Treasurer Merlo and the Judge Matienzo. I then said it would be a good thing for the Inca to send thirty captains to the city of Cuzco, that they might see how well treated they would be, and how freely they could pass over the whole land. I should remain as a hostage until their return. The Inca said that if I thought such a proceeding advisable he would agree; but if the slightest injury was done to any one of those Indians, he said he would hang me. I replied that I was willing to run the risk. Then the Inca sent the thirty captains to arrive there in six days, and send an account of their treatment in another five days. He ordered them to go first to the chief or principal church and worship the holy sacrament, and then to the house of the Judge Matienzo. He also wrote to the friars of our Lady of Mercy, and to the Franciscan friars, to ask two of them to come and preach in his territory, and that he would give them the products of the land in exchange for their doctrine. He also wrote to the Judge Matienzo, thanking him for having sent

me, for that I had made known to them the law of our Lord Jesus Christ. He asked for two friars as his people wished to be Christians and to be convinced that the things they had worshipped up to that time were foolishness. As his honour had expressed a wish to have an interview with the Inca at the frontier of the land of peace, the Inca would rejoice to comply, if his honour would come with not more than three Spaniards, and that he would be at the bridge of Chuquichaca, at such time as the Judge might appoint.

In the meantime I preached and explained the Christian doctrine every morning, and they came to hear me. The Indian messengers who went to Cuzco did not return at the appointed time. They thought that their friends had been put to death and were sad. The governor Yamqui Mayta said to me, that morning, that I had committed some sin in Peru, because they sent me here and here I should be killed. Before I arrived, he continued, they had resolved that, with 700 Antis and 2000 other Indians, they would attack the towns near their frontier, seize all the Indians they could capture, and kill all the clerics, friars, and other Spaniards they could catch. They had abandoned this plan out of regard for me. Yet, notwithstanding that they had received the evangelic law, I had deceived them. If within two days the messengers did not return, he added, they would make the raid which had originally been intended.

On the 20th of May the news came that the captains who took the message to Cuzco had been received and well treated. Out of joy at this news they played on drums and trumpets and had a great feast. They sent for me and told me I had told the truth. Then they read the letters from the Judge Matienzo which had arrived. In them he said that he wished to have an interview with the Inca, and that on the last day of

Easter he would set out, arriving at the bridge on Friday or Saturday, making all haste. He said that he would bring fourteen or fifteen men with him, being the guard that his Majesty granted, to accompany him. At this the Inca was undecided, fearing that it might be a plot to kill him and his Indians, but that I would counsel him and that he would trust me. I said that not only could he trust the word of the Judge in going to Chuquichaca, but that he might trust it in going to Cuzco. If he brought a hundred men with him it would not be for offence but for service. All those he brought with him would come as friends. If the King of Spain wished to conquer him, not all the Indians in the kingdom and 10,000 more could stand against his power. His Majesty had done this because his thought was to maintain peace, and to advance the knowledge of God; not that the Spaniards should invade their land and seize their wives and children. To this he replied that the power of the King was great, and though he had so many nations, as well black men as Moors, subject to him, yet he, the Inca, like Manco Inca his father before him, knew how to defend himself in those mountains. At the same time, as I said he should go, he would do so, and presently he sent to Vilcapampa for more men.

On the 25th of May one of his generals arrived with 300 men, armed with lances, who entered the open place where the rest were drawn up, and made obeisance to the sun and to the Inca. Then a hundred captains of those who came from Vilcapampa went to where Yamqui Mayta was standing and asked why he had consented to have the cross planted in their land, seeing that it had not been set up in the time of Manco Inca. Why then was it there now? If I had persuaded the Inca to do this, they intended to kill me. The Inca replied that it was done by his order, and that it was well that they should

accept the cross of the creator of all things. Having received this answer they went to their seats, and the festival proceeded.

On the 28th of May we set out for the bridge of Chuquichaca to meet the Judge who was coming. A garrison of 200 Indians was left in Arancalla and the rest went with us. We arrived on Saturday, the eve of the Trinity, at the bridge of Chuquichaca, where we received the news that the Judge Matienzo was at the bridge of Amaibamba with 30 Spaniards, 10 negroes, 20 arquebusiers and 150 Cañari Indians with their lances. Presently we received a letter from the Judge Matienzo in which he said that he had come with this escort, that the Inca should cross the river to see him, and that the Treasurer Merlo, a clergyman, two other Spaniards and I would be hostages for his safety. The Inca wished to comply, but the captains would not consent. The Inca then wrote to the Judge Matienzo proposing that he should come with all his company to the passage of the bridge, that his honour should pass over, and that he, the Inca, would send as hostages his governor and camp master, who would go to the other side. The Inca then detached 300 Indians to keep watch and ward. I said that the Judge Matienzo would not consent to this, not having a royal commission, but that he would cross with all his escort and that, in that open space which was large, the Inca and Judge could see each other and discuss what they desired. The Inca wrote a letter to that effect. Then there were prepared litters of silver and gold and much carving, and he had 25 *alcabuçes* brought out, which he distributed among those who knew. He said to me that, as I was his friend, he wanted to tell me a secret. He had had 300 cloaks and also breeches of dead people brought. Then he called an assembly, saying that those who brought those clothes

had been killed, and if the Spaniards intended to attack, each one would become a good soldier in defence of his lord.

At that moment the Judge Matienzo arrived at the bridge with all his people. Then Garcia de Merlo, the clergyman, and the two other Spaniards crossed over and explained to the Inca the proposals of the President. He said that he understood and that he would come across the river. But the captains said that the bridge was tricky, that the Inca's legs were bruised from a fall he had recently had, and that he could not pass over. Then he sent me, with the governor and two other captains, to be hostages together with the thirty captains who had come from Cuzco. I took the Judge apart and explained everything to him, but those who were with him would scarcely let us talk in secret. I began to understand that it was not intended to settle anything owing to the intriguers who were with the Judge, and who were unreasonable. The Indians were noting everything. The Judge said he did not wish to cross the river, and I returned with the governor and all the other captains of the Inca. I then asked the Inca to come over, and he agreed to do so, contrary to the wishes of all his captains, as I advised it. Then he went with all his followers richly dressed and with their arms in good order. They marched to a cross that had been put up and all did reverence to it. The Inca's escort amounted to 600 Indians. Then I went to the Judge Matienzo and asked him to go alone to the bridge without any of his followers, so that he and the Inca might converse without anyone hearing them. He consented and went with the mestizo Porras as interpreter. He was armed with sword and arquebus, and the Inca also had his weapons. The Inca had passed from the other side with his governor, camp master, ten captains, and the mestizo.

The Inca threw himself at the feet of the Judge weeping, and relating the misfortunes of his father and himself. He told how they had been kept in prison by Juan Pizarro, like dogs in a collar, until they should give him a box full of gold. They also seized his mother and one of his sisters in the valley of Tambo. His father had taken refuge in these mountains and four times Juan Pizarro, Hernando Pizarro and Orgoñez came to conquer him by order of the Marquis, when many Spaniards and Indians lost their lives. As a return for his father's hospitality to seven Spaniards of the party of Almagro, they murdered him. He said many other things which were not confided to us. Finally he asked for peace on the basis that had been negotiated. Then he sent for some small baskets of feathers and presented them to the Judge.

The Judge said that he was also anxious for peace and that he would consent to all the terms in the name of his Majesty, except as regards the Indians who had been taken from citizens of Cuzco. They must be given up. The Inca said that this might be settled afterwards. The Judge replied that that could not be. Then the Inca said that he must go to consult with his captains, and that he would return with the answer. The Judge pressed the Inca to come out of the mountains, and the Inca said that he was poor, and unable to maintain the expense. He put forward the excuse that he was in the Andes, 60 leagues from whence the Judge came, and it would be necessary for him to wait more than a month before they could go together. It is true that this was so. The Judge said that he would wait for him at Cuzco. At this juncture the arquebusiers who were with the Judge Matienzo began to press nearer to hear what was said, notwithstanding that they were called to and told to stop. The Inca wanted to return from fear of

them. But reason did not prevail and there was confusion. The Inca took leave, saying that he wished to tell what had been said to his captains, and that he would return. I passed backwards and forwards four or five times to ascertain when the Inca would resume the interview, for the Judge wanted to depart. The Inca said that he was so pressed upon that he was afraid, and that he thought treachery was intended. I went to the Judge and asked him not to go that day as he had arrived very late. Amaibamba was distant more than three leagues, and he could not get there before night. I urged him to stay and hear what the Inca would say when he resumed the conversation. So he waited until the morning, the Spaniards guarding one side and the Indians the other. The Indians made many fires and played on their trumpets and whistles. In the morning the camp master came and told me that the Inca would come to answer the Judge, and to tell me his view of the negotiation. The Judge did not wish it, and said the Inca could send what he had to propose further in a letter. If he would not come out in peace the bridge must be destroyed. The Inca answered that he would comply with the treaty he had made with me, and he ordered the bridge to be broken down on his side. This was done and we departed. They also retired.

This is a true account of what happened in this journey, abridged so as to avoid prolixity, and I sign with my name the truth of what happened in my presence.

MOLINA

(*See Hakluyt Society's volume for* 1873.)

FATHER CRISTOBAL DE MOLINA was a priest who devoted his life to the investigation of the history, religion and customs of the ancient Peruvians, of which he gave an account to the Emperor in a letter dated Lima, 12 July, 1539 as follows: "I went with Almagro (the elder) in his discoveries and, that your Majesty may be well informed, he sent Henao, a servant of the Comendador Mayor Cobos, to delineate all the route he traversed and discovered, that is to say from Tumbez in 3 S. to the river Maulé in 39, which by land is 1024 leagues, besides what he discovered between Panama and Tumbez; and drew the nations and tribes, their dresses, rites, and each one in his manner of living, with many other things." He adds: "I do not speak of what happened between Hernando Pizarro and Almagro because I am a Priest and wish to give no opinion unless by command of my Prince. I am now advanced in years, and tired with the labours in the service of your Majesty under Almagro." (*Coll. Muñoz, Ee* 1, fo. 260 *and* 261.)

Molina dedicated his Laws and Rites of the Incas to Sebastian de Lartoun, Bishop of Cuzco, who took possession of the see on July 28th, 1573. Molina died, when assisting at the Council of Lima, on October 9th, 1583. (*Historia del Cuzco. Vasco Contreras y Valverde MS.*)

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1911 Rio de Janeiro, Archivo Publico Nacional, Sa da Republica, No. 26.
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1911 Royal Anthropological Institute, 50, Great Russell Street, W.C.
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1847 Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.
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1847 Royal Engineers' Institute, Chatham.
1847 Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, W.
1890 Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Synod Hall, Castle Terrace, Edinburgh.
1897 Royal Societies Club, 63, St. James's Street, S.W.
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1847 Société de Géographie, Boulevard St. Germain, 184, Paris.
1909 Solomon, Sir E. P., The Senate, Cape Town.
1899 South African Public Library, Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town, South Africa.
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1905 Vienna, K. K. Geographische Gesellschaft, Wollzeile 33, Vienna.
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1912 Villa, Dr. F. Luis de, Banco Colombiano, Guatemala, C.A.
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1904 Wagner, Herrn H., and E. Debes, Geographische Anstalt, Brüderstrasse 23, Leipzig.
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